

**A QUALITATIVE CASE STUDY OF THE IMPACT OF SOCIO-CULTURAL
FACTORS ON PROMINENT TURKISH WRITERS**

A Dissertation

by

ADALET BARIŞ GÜNERSEL

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies of
Texas A&M University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

August 2008

Major Subject: Educational Psychology

**A QUALITATIVE CASE STUDY OF THE IMPACT OF SOCIO-CULTURAL
FACTORS ON PROMINENT TURKISH WRITERS**

A Dissertation

by

ADALET BARIŞ GÜNERSEL

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies of
Texas A&M University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Approved by:

Chair of Committee,
Committee Members,

Stephanie Knight

Rodney Hill

Joyce Juntune

William Nash

Head of Department,

Michael Benz

August 2008

Major Subject: Educational Psychology

ABSTRACT

A Qualitative Case Study of the Impact of Socio-Cultural Factors on Prominent Turkish Writers. (August 2008)

Adalet Barış Günersel, B.A., Oberlin College

Chair of Advisory Committee: Dr. Stephanie Knight

This study investigates socio-cultural factors that impact the lives of highly creative writers, specifically, novelists in a specific socio-cultural context, Turkey. Research objectives included the investigation of the definition of creativity, creative processes and products by highly creative Turkish writers, and socio-cultural factors that influenced the development of their creativity.

The qualitative case study was used and interviews with four participants, or cases, shed light onto the focus of the study. Four novelists who fit certain criteria were selected: (a) they have invented, designed, and produced creative work regularly and their work has influenced Turkish literature; (b) they were Turkish citizens who have lived 75% of their lives in Turkey and received their education in Turkey; and (c) they varied in age and gender. The participants were Yaşar Kemal (85, male), Adalet Ağaoğlu (81, female), Mario Levi (51, male), and Latife Tekin (51, female). Interviews with the participants were transcribed, translated from Turkish into English, and analyzed. The constant comparative method (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Lincoln & Guba,

1985) was used as the method of analysis. Other documents about the participants were also used as data sources.

Results indicate that participants' views of creativity resemble both Western and non-Western views of creativity and their views of creative processes and products are similar to former research findings on creative individuals and creativity in general. Overarching themes include (a) environmental catalysts that prompted creativity; (b) emotional and professional support networks in participants' lives; and (c) participants' self-efficacy. Although environmental catalysts include events that cause both positive and negative emotions, two of the participants emphasize the role of negative feelings, such as anger and sadness, in the stimulation of creativity. The participants have had various sources of support from either certain individuals, such as a teacher or a friend, or groups of individuals, such as their readers. Participants' self-efficacy emerges from various personality traits such as determination, persistence, rebelliousness, outspokenness, and independence. Findings indicate that education is an important socio-cultural factor that can enhance or hinder creativity and that teachers have a crucial role in the development of their students.

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my wonderful mother, Füsün Günersel, and father, Tarık Günersel, who have helped me become the person I am today.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to acknowledge and thank the members of my committee and the members of Center for Teaching Excellence for their support. Dr. Stephanie Knight's advice and guidance, Dr. Joyce Juntune's enthusiasm, positive energy, and suggestions, and Dr. Prudence Merton's help during the peer review process have been vital throughout the course of this research. I would also like to thank Dr. Nancy Simpson for her continuous support and for letting me become a part of the Center for Teaching Excellence. Thanks to my friends at Texas A&M University for being there for me and special thanks to my boyfriend, Philipp Karl Illeditsch, and my parents who have helped me through these years.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ABSTRACT	iii
DEDICATION	v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	vi
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vii
LIST OF TABLES	ix
 CHAPTER	
I INTRODUCTION.....	1
The Research Gap	2
Purpose of the Study	5
The Research Questions	5
Definition of Terms	6
Research Design	7
Significance of the Study	9
Summary	10
II REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE.....	12
Definitions of Creativity and Giftedness.....	13
History of Creativity Research	14
Approaches to Creativity Research	16
Common Research Methods in Creativity Research.....	34
Western and Non-Western Cultures and Views of Creativity.....	35
The Turkish Context.....	44
Summary	76
III METHODOLOGY.....	78
Research Design	78
Participants (Cases)	79
Data Sources.....	85
Procedures	87

CHAPTER	Page
Data Analysis	88
Data Presentation.....	92
Validation	92
Research Orientation	95
Summary	96
IV RESULTS: WITHIN-CASE ANALYSIS.....	98
Section 1: Yaşar Kemal	99
Section 2: Adalet Ağaoğlu	134
Section 3: Mario Levi.....	179
Section 4: Latife Tekin.....	203
V CROSS-CASE ANALYSIS AND COMPARISON TO FORMER RESEARCH.....	245
Research Question One	246
Research Question Two	250
Research Question Three	258
Summary	283
VI CONCLUSIONS.....	286
Overarching Themes	286
Summary and Conclusions.....	290
Suggestions for Future Research.....	295
REFERENCES.....	296
APPENDIX A	327
APPENDIX B	328
APPENDIX C	332
APPENDIX D	333
APPENDIX E.....	338
VITA	340

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE	Page
1 The Kemalist Reforms	55
2 Participants/Cases.....	84
3 Interview Guide.....	87
4 Follow-Up Interview Information.....	87
5 Peer Review Meetings.....	94
6 Kemal's Creative Products.....	101
7 Findings on Kemal	109
8 Ağaoğlu's Creative Products.....	135
9 Ağaoğlu's Awards.....	137
10 Findings on Ağaoğlu	143
11 Levi's Creative Products	180
12 Findings on Levi.....	184
13 Tekin's Creative Products	204
14 Findings on Tekin.....	212
15 Findings for First Research Question and Comparison with Former Research	247
16 Findings for Second Research Question	251
17 Findings Under the Category "Personality"	276

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In the second half of the 20th century, creativity started being acknowledged as an important factor for both lives of individuals and societal wellbeing (Sternberg & Lubart, 1996). While creativity is important on a daily basis for solving problems that range from simple to complex, it is also important for social developments, industries, businesses, and sciences (Sternberg & Lubart, 1996). Creativity research, which has become popular since the 1950s, has mostly focused on highly creative individuals (Amabile, 1996; Simonton, 1992). A reason for the interest in the personality of these individuals could be the fact that if stable characteristics can be identified, people with creative potential can be identified and creative characteristics can be honed through education (Weisberg, 1986). In addition to this, the experiences of highly creative individuals and the factors that influenced their lives and creative development provide valuable information not only about how creativity can be developed within individuals, but also about different societies and cultures.

Since the 1980s, there has been a rising interest in the socio-cultural approach to creativity which focuses on social, cultural, and political factors that influence creativity. However, most of the studies related to creativity have been conducted in Western societies leaving the literature lacking an international aspect (Lubart, 1990; Nisbett, 2003; Westwood & Low, 2003). In fact, in *The International Handbook of Creativity*

This dissertation follows the style of *Creativity Research Journal*.

published in 2006, Sternberg pointed out that “what is perhaps most notable about creativity research around the world is how little of it there is” (p. 2). Understanding other cultures is especially important with the rapid increase of globalization, which can be viewed as the result of the acceleration of the activity and mobility of ideas, products, or people (Coatsworth, 2004). Increasingly, countries are enriched by a wealth of citizens from all around the world, schools are filled with different languages and cultural backgrounds, and businesses are conducted between continents. Technological advances have led to not only a growing irrelevance of national borders, but also the increasing interdependence of countries all around the world (Global Policy Forum, n.d.), which points to the need for an understanding of different cultures and societies. Information about the creative wealth in other societies may give us insight into similarities and differences between societies, as well as a greater knowledge of others that share the same planet. Information about how creativity in different societies flourishes may let us view creativity in other dimensions.

This study is an exploration of a culture that has not been fully studied in the realm of creativity research. It presents a wealth of experience from highly creative individuals who have created despite various difficulties. This chapter presents the research gap, the purpose of the study, the research questions, and definition of terms. A summary of the research design and significance of the study conclude the chapter.

The Research Gap

Before the 1980s, creativity research focused almost exclusively on the creative individual, which led to two major approaches to creativity research: the personality

approach, which focused on the creative individual and styles of creativity, and the cognitive approach, which focused on the creative process (Cropley, 2006; Csikszentmihalyi, 1990; Ryhammar & Brolin, 1999). However during the 1980s, discussions on creativity started to include historical, social, and cultural factors, which led to a socio-cultural approach to creativity (Rudowicz, 2004; Ryhammar & Brolin, 1999). Creativity was no longer viewed as confined within the boundaries of the individual (Cropley, 2006). Researchers have found that various socio-cultural factors impact the development of creativity, as well as the shaping and acceptance of creative products (e.g., Albert & Runco, 1999; Gardner, 1993; Gruber, 1981; Harrington, 1990; Lubart & Georgsdottir, 2004; Mumford & Gustafson, 1988; Simonton, 1975, 1992; Sternberg & Lubart, 1991; Vass, 2004).

Since the socio-cultural approach to creativity emerged only recently, more research dealing with socio-cultural factors and creativity is needed. In 1996, the impact of socio-cultural factors on creativity was the least developed area in creativity research “by any measure—volume of research publications, number of investigators engaged in research, historical span” (Amabile, 1996, p. 264). More recent literature suggests that most of the studies on the socio-cultural aspect of creativity have been conducted in Western cultures and have focused on Western creative individuals (Nisbett, 2003; Westwood & Low, 2003). There is a limited amount of empirical research on highly creative individuals who are diverse linguistically, ethnically, or culturally (Levy & Plucker, 2003). Westwood and Low (2003) suggest that discussions about creativity in the U.S. and other Western countries frequently neglect important creative individuals

and achievements in non-Western cultures. For this reason, the literature may be culturally biased since the theories of creativity are based on a certain cultural perspective (Lubart, 1990). Oral, Kaufman, and Sexton (2004) indicate that studies on highly creative writers “usually focus on Western writers, perhaps without an awareness that generalizations to writers in other cultures may not be appropriate” and that “the creative life of non-Western cultures is rarely examined in and of itself” (p. 224). Studies have found that non-Western cultures and Western cultures differ not only in aspects such as the perception of self, perception of time, and perception of society (e.g., Holmberg, Markus, Herzog, & Franks, 1997; Morris & Peng, 1994; Nisbett, 2003; Ross, 1998; Weiner, 2000; Westwood & Low, 2003), but also in views of creativity (Lubart & Georgsdottir, 2004; Moran & John-Steiner, 2004; Ngara & Porath, 2004; Rudowicz, 2004; Weiner, 2000).

One of the non-Western countries where aspects of creativity research have yet to be fully explored is Turkey, a country unique with its rich history and cultural composition positioned between the West and the non-West both geographically and socially. Turkey’s recent history presents “a rare chance to study how the creative life of a country is shaped by its sociopolitical life” (Oral, Kaufman, & Sexton, 2004, p. 224). After World War I, the Turkish people, led by Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk) (1881-1938), fought the invading Allies, the Ottoman aristocracy, and the palace, and founded the Turkish Republic in 1923. Reforms transformed the country into a secular democracy focusing on national pride, while marking the end of almost every aspect of Ottoman life and signifying the beginning of Turkey as a modern, Westernized nation separate from

the empire (Mardin, 2002). Reforms that radically changed society included the adoption of European-style clothing and the adoption of the Latin alphabet instead of the Arabic, which aimed at making education and literacy easier and accessible to everyone (Meydan-Larousse, 1972). It has been suggested that modern Turkish culture has its roots in the Ottoman Empire in the same way that European cultures are rooted in medieval Roman Christendom (Paolucci, 1973). Social unrest, political instability, cultural dualities, and tension have existed in Turkish society since the founding of the Republic, and these factors have impacted everyone in the country, especially writers.

Purpose of the Study

A study done by Oral, Kaufman, and Sexton (2004) investigated the relationship between socio-cultural factors in the lives of highly creative Turkish writers and the success of these writers. While this quantitative study reveals important statistical information, it does not provide any qualitative data such as the writers' experiences and opinions regarding these socio-cultural factors or information on how these factors actually influenced them. The purpose of this case study, which is a necessary qualitative extension of Oral et al.'s (2004) quantitative study, was to investigate socio-cultural factors that impact the lives of highly creative writers, specifically novelists, in a specific socio-cultural context, Turkey. Research objectives included the investigation of the definition of creativity, creative processes and products by highly creative Turkish writers and socio-cultural factors that influenced the development of their creativity.

The Research Questions

The following research questions are addressed in the study:

1. How do highly creative Turkish writers define creativity?
2. How do highly creative Turkish writers describe creative processes and products?
3. How do different factors related to Turkish culture and society (education, social factors, political factors, historical events, gender, age) impact (help or hinder) the development of the creativity of highly creative Turkish writers?

Definition of Terms

In this study, “highly creative person” refers to someone who can (a) invent, design, and produce creative work regularly, and (b) create work that has an impact on a domain. This definition is a composite of Weisberg’s (1993) definition of “genius” (someone whose work either is greatly influential, or has exceptional value, or both) and Gardner’s (1993) definition of “creativity” (the ability to solve problems and produce creative work regularly and in a way that is first novel, but then accepted in a cultural setting). The highly creative persons in this study are those who have demonstrated their creativity by examples of productivity as a writer (i.e., novels, stories etc.). They have been acclaimed in their domain, the world of literature, by references and/or awards. The term “society” refers to “a group of human beings and the structure of their relations” (Parekh, 2000, p. 146). The term “culture” refers to the “totality of customs and beliefs of a people” (Weiner, 2000, p. 99) and “the content and the organizing and legitimizing principles of the relations” within society (Parekh, 2000, p. 146). “Highly creative individual” and “creative genius” are used interchangeably.

Research Design

In order to gain an in-depth understanding of the participants' experiences, thoughts, and feelings, and the socio-cultural factors that impacted their creativity, both negatively and positively, the qualitative case study method was used. The goals of qualitative research include understanding, generating descriptions, discovering meaning, and generating hypotheses, using an inductive mode of analysis (Merriam, 1998). Case study research is a qualitative approach that uses one or more bounded systems (cases) and involves in-depth data collection (Stake, 1995). This study is a collective (or multiple) case study in which there is one focus and multiple cases are used to illustrate the issue (Stake, 1995). The study's focus is the impact of socio-cultural factors in Turkey on the development of literary creativity and the cases are the participants.

Participants (Cases)

This study employed a purposeful sampling strategy. The participants were writers who fit the definition of "highly creative person." They have invented, designed, and produced creative work regularly and their work has influenced Turkish literature as indicated by (a) the frequency with which they are referenced, in the Turkish press (newspapers and magazines), (b) the way they are mentioned in the Turkish press (acclaimed as highly creative writers), (c) award or awards they have received, and (d) their active stance as a creative writer, such as speaking at conferences or conducting writing workshops. In addition to this, since the study focused on socio-cultural factors in Turkey, participants were Turkish citizens, had lived at least 75% of their lives in

Turkey, and received all of their education in Turkey. In order to investigate the impact of sex, gender roles, different generations, and age, participants consisted of a 51-year-old male (Mario Levi), a 51-year-old female (Latife Tekin), an 85-year-old male (Yaşar Kemal), and an 81-year-old female (Adalet Ağaoğlu). Methodology, the selection process, and the participants are further described in Chapter III.

Data Sources

Two sources that are often used in case study research were included: interviews and documents (Creswell, 2007; Merriam, 1998). Semi-structured interviews with the Turkish version of an interview guide were conducted. The interviews were transcribed, translated from Turkish into English, and then analyzed. Documents, which were either in English or Turkish, included articles published in newspapers and journals; reviews of the participants' work published in newspapers, journals, or books, and included in online resources; written, audiotaped, or videotaped interviews with the participants; and biographies of the participants if available.

Data Analysis

Analysis in case studies consists of “making a detailed description of the case and its setting” (Creswell, 2007, p. 163). In this study, the setting includes Turkish culture and history, the locations where the participants have lived, and the actual interview setting. Thus basic historical information about the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic, founded in 1923, with specific focus on education and literature's role in society is provided. In each section pertaining to the writers under Chapter IV, information on their status during events in history that had an impact on the

participant's life is presented. Biographical information contains information on the locations where they have lived. The setting of the interview is also described.

The analysis consisted of the two steps that are typically used in multiple case study analysis: within-case analyses followed by a cross-case analysis (Creswell, 2007). The within-case analyses focused on each case, participant, and the interview, while the cross-case analysis included the correspondence between categories that emerged from the interviews of the participants (Creswell, 2007). Overarching themes were developed and presented with the conclusions. The data pertaining to each participant were analyzed using the constant comparative method that was first described by Glaser and Strauss (1967) and later modified by Lincoln and Guba (1985).

Significance of the Study

The significance of this study lies in its contributions to the international foundation of creativity research, specifically focusing on socio-cultural factors. The findings present information about creativity in Turkey, a country that has an important role in international relations as the bridge between the Western world and the Middle Eastern and Asian worlds. Since a qualitative study on this topic has not yet been conducted, this study presents a unique look at Turkish history and society with all of its socio-political upheavals in relation to their impact on creativity. The results of this study provide a new understanding of the lives of creative Turkish writers, how they lived through and developed their creativity through various political and social upheavals, how they were influenced by different factors, and how they view various aspects of creativity. Results highlight the similarities and differences between findings

on creativity in Western societies and this society, where the cultural composition is caught between Europe and the Middle East.

Additionally, the study provides additional insights on the relationship between creativity and education, an area of importance in creativity research. Education is a social, political, and cultural factor and is crucial in the development of individuals both emotionally and intellectually. Although not the main focus of the study, the exploration of Turkish society includes information on Turkish education and the exploration of the lives of these individuals includes education's role in the development of their creativity. Results can give insight on aspects that are important to education in such a cultural setting, including aspects that may need to be enhanced or modified, whether it is in education universally or education specifically in Turkey.

Summary

This chapter presented information about this qualitative case study. The purpose of this study was to investigate socio-cultural factors that influenced highly creative Turkish writers, as well as these writers' definition of creativity, creative processes, and products. Since most of the studies on creativity have been conducted in Western societies, creativity research in other societies, such as Turkey, needs to be developed. The cases of the study are the four participants and the data sources are the interviews with the participants and documents related to the participants. The constant comparative method (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Lincoln & Guba, 1985) was used to analyze the data and overarching themes were developed.

The following chapter presents information on different approaches to creativity research, research findings, and common research methods, as well as differences between Western and non-Western societies and their views of creativity. Chapter II also provides social and historical information on the context of the study, Turkey. Chapter III consists of a detailed description of the methodology of the study, including the overall design, participants, data sources, procedures, data analysis, data presentation, validation, and the researcher orientation. This is followed by the presentation of the individual case studies in Chapter IV, where each participant is described and the analysis of the interview is presented. Chapter V consists of the cross-case analysis, where categories that emerged from the interviews are compared with each other and findings are compared with former research. The dissertation concludes with a presentation of overarching themes and concluding remarks in Chapter VI.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This chapter presents information on three broad topics: (a) creativity research in general, including the three major approaches to creativity, research findings, and common research methods; (b) creativity research in non-Western societies, including a brief comparison of Western and non-Western cultures and their views of creativity; and (c) the context of the current study, Turkey, including information on different factors that have impacted creativity throughout Turkish history.

Information on creativity research includes the three major approaches to modern creativity research: the personality approach focusing on the creative individual and styles of creativity, the cognitive approach focusing on the creative process, and the socio-cultural approach focusing on socio-cultural factors, such as education, family, and the government, (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990; Ryhammar & Brolin, 1999). Since the current study focuses on socio-cultural issues, the socio-cultural approach is explained in greater detail. Socio-cultural factors that have been found to be influential on individuals are education, other people (family members, peers, mentors), politics, gender, and language.

Information on creativity research in non-Western societies indicates that most of the research has been conducted in Western countries (e.g., Westwood & Low, 2003) and that the scarce research in non-Western countries has been mainly in Asian societies, such as Japan and Hong Kong. Differences between Western and non-Western cultures,

such as individualism versus collectivism, independence versus interdependence, and short-term focus versus long-term focus, and views on creativity, are presented.

The section on the context of the current study, Turkey, includes general information on Turkey and creativity research in Turkey, specifically Oral, Kaufman, and Sexton's (2004) study which reveals important quantitative information about various social factors related to creative writers, but does not provide any qualitative data such as the writers' personal experiences and opinions regarding these factors. Information on factors impacting creativity including education, the government and socio-political events, gender issues, and language are presented specifically in the context of Turkey. Information on each factor focuses on important developments in Turkish history and their relation to creativity and specifically literature, which is the focus of this study. For example, socio-political events are described decade by decade and only events that had an impact on the society, creativity, and literature are included. Brief information on writers' relationships with politics is presented. The chapter ends with general information about the Turkish language and the novel in Turkish literature.

Definitions of Creativity and Giftedness

Developing a definition for creativity took hundreds of years of contemplation, debate, and analysis by writers, artists, and philosophers (Albert & Runco, 1999). Basadur and Hausdorf (1996) stated that "there is no single agreed-on definition of creativity—that in itself makes the study and measurement of creativity difficult and complex" (p. 21). The word "creativity" is derived from the Latin *creare* and *creatus* (to make or grow), the old French base *kere* (Piiro, 2004; Weiner, 2000). The word

“creative” was coined in the 18th century, during which creation became associated with art (Williams, 1987). The word “genius” came to English in the 14th century from the same word in Latin, meaning creator or begetter, or guardian spirit (Weiner, 2000; Williams, 1987). For the Romans “Genius” was the name of the god that allowed men to procreate (Weiner, 2000, p. 41). The word “invention” was used often between 1475 and 1541 and had the same meaning as “creativity” does today (Weiner, 2000, p. 56). By the 17th and 18th centuries, “genius” referred to both the creative power with which some people were born and highly creative individuals like Shakespeare. It was Adolfus William Ward who first used the term “creative genius” in his book, *History of Dramatic English Literature* (1975), where he referred to Shakespeare as a creative genius with “poetic creativity” (Weiner, 2000). Piirto (2004) points out that creativity “has come to be considered as either a form of giftedness or to be synonymous with giftedness, or to be a form of genius or to be synonymous with genius (p. 38). In this dissertation, “highly creative individual” and “creative genius” are used interchangeably.

History of Creativity Research

Galton (1869) was the first to focus on genius as the subject of scientific investigation. In the 19th century, “genius” referred to “a degree of eminence rarely achieved in any individual’s lifetime” (as cited by Tannenbaum, 1986, p. 26). Psychoanalysts like Sigmund Freud (1856-1939) and Carl Jung (1875-1961) established a connection science, the humanities, and creativity (Weiner, 2000); but it was J. P. Guilford’s (1897–1988) keynote address at the American Psychological Association in 1950 that marked the beginning of a greater interest in creativity research (Weiner,

2000). In the address, he emphasized the importance of creativity research and called the neglect of creativity “appalling” (Weisberg, 1986, p. 55).

Guilford’s keynote address was followed by an increase in creativity research. In 1952, a conference on “the Nature of Creative Thinking” was held by the Industrial Research Institute (Weiner, 2000). The Society for the Philosophy of Creativity was founded in the 1950s (Weiner, 2000). In 1965, the bibliography of Razik’s Creative Education Foundation included 4176 references to creativity, 3000 of which were published after 1950 (Barron & Harrington, 1981). The first professional journal on creativity, *Journal of Creative Behavior* began distribution in 1967 and the professional *Creativity Research Journal* began distribution in 1988 (Wu, 2004). Between 1950 and 1980, the works written about creativity had grown from 168 to about 7,000 (Weiner, 2000, p. 7). According to Weiner (2000), by the new millennium that number had doubled. Sternberg and Dess (2001) found that the database PsychINFO (<http://www.apa.org/psycinfo/>) had 16 articles about creativity in 1950. By 1959 the number had increased to 56, and by 1999, the number had reached 328.

At the same time, a major area of interest in creativity research became education. In the 1950s, Annual Creative Problem Solving Institutes were presented by Jennie Graham at the State University of New York, Buffalo, and the Creative Education Foundation was founded by Sidney J. Parnes (Weiner, 2000). Purdue Creativity Training Program for schools was created in 1970. In the 1970s, the increase in educators’ interest in creativity led to the inclusion of courses related to creativity and creativity studies in universities (Weiner, 2000). Extensive research has shown that education is a key socio-

cultural factor in the development of creativity (Amabile, 1983, 1990, 1996; Simonton, 2006).

Approaches to Creativity Research

There have been three major approaches to modern creativity research: the personality approach focusing on the creative individual and styles of creativity, the cognitive approach focusing on the creative process, and the socio-cultural approach focusing on socio-cultural factors (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990; Ryhammar & Brodin, 1999). Each approach is presented in the following sections with a focus on the socio-cultural approach, since this study focuses on socio-cultural issues in Turkish society.

The Personality Approach

The personality approach has been the most popular approach in creativity research: The majority of the studies have focused on the characteristics of highly creative people (Amabile, 1996; Simonton, 1992). A reason for the great interest in the personality of highly creative individuals could be the fact that if stable characteristics can be identified, people with creative potential can be identified and creative characteristics can be honed through education (Weisberg, 1986).

Earlier researchers initiated the personality approach by suggesting that personality was the only determinant of creativity. For example, Galton (1869) suggested that genius was inherited and that social obstacles could not hinder the creative genius from excelling. Guilford (1950) stated that creativity was “a set of traits that are characteristic of creative persons” (as cited by Feldhusen & Goh, 1995, p. 232). In addition to this, some psychologists have assumed that creativity could be identified

by psychometric means without considering the social context (e.g. Barron & Harrington, 1981).

On the other hand, later researchers such as Dabrowski (1972), Kirton (1976), Renzulli (1986), and Gardner (1983), continued the focus on the individual, without denying the possible impact of socio-cultural factors. Renzulli's (1986) Three-Ring Conception of Giftedness focuses on three characteristics of the individual: above-average ability, task commitment, and creativity. Dabrowski (1972) supported the idea that highly creative individuals had specific, above-average abilities, but also added that they had components of psychic life that contained heightened levels of energy called overexcitabilities (OE) (Ngara & Porath, 2004). Gardner (1983) took the idea of specific, above-average abilities a step further, and suggested that instead of abilities, there were different kinds of creativity, or "intelligences:" linguistic, musical, logical-mathematical, spatial, bodily-kinesthetic, interpersonal, and intrapersonal (and later, naturalist). While Gardner (1983) proposed different kinds of creativity, Kirton (1976) presented his theory of two creativity styles: Adaptors exercised their creativity within established paradigms, while innovators created new paradigms and frameworks. While slightly different, all of these theories focused mainly on the individual's personality traits.

The extensive research done on the personalities of highly creative people has included several topics, such as characteristics of creative people, creative people in different domains, and the link between intelligence and creativity. For the first topic, regarding characteristics of creative people, studies have revealed that highly creative people tend to be intuitive, self-confident, and independent of judgment (Barron &

Harrington, 1981; Weiner, 2000; Weisberg, 1986). They have several interests; they are highly intelligent, self-sufficient, independent, introverted, and dominant; and they see themselves as creative, determined, and enthusiastic (Albert, & Runco, 1986, p. 339). They are courageous, curious, motivated, persistent, tolerant of ambiguity, and are willing to take risks (Harrington, 1990; Shaughnessy, 1998). They have the ability to integrate judgmental thinking and creative thinking; they are skilled at processing new ideas; and they provide fresh perspectives (Forbes, 1996). They have social traits such as non-conformity, skepticism (Feist, 1999), and perfectionism (Baer & Kaufman, 2006). Galton (1874) concluded that creative geniuses had great intellectual ability, good physical health, a sense of independence, a sense of purpose, great energy, extreme dedication, and productivity (Tannenbaum, 1986). According to Csikszentmihalyi (1996), the one word that can separate creative people's personalities from others is complexity: "They contain contradictory extremes—instead of being an individual, each of them is a 'multitude'" (p.57). In his interview with Shaughnessy (1998), Torrance, who had observed several highly creative individuals, stated that characteristics that impede creativity include self-satisfaction, negativism, resistance, fear, worry, conformance, submissiveness, and timidity (Shaughnessy, 1998). Some studies have found that creative geniuses tend to experience depression or other psychological disturbances (Piirto, 2004). Jamison (1993) found that, compared to average people, artists, poets, and writers were 35 times more likely to experience depression.

Research has found that highly creative people in different domains tend to have some different characteristics (Barron & Harrington, 1981). For example, while creative

scientists are more self-confident, risk-taking, and emotionally stable than average persons, creative writers and artists are less stable, more prone to feeling guilty, and less prone to taking risks (Barron & Harrington, 1981).

The link between intelligence and creativity has long been debated. Some researchers believe that a certain level of intelligence is a prerequisite for creative thinking, as creativity is a higher order thinking skill (Feldhusen & Goh, 1995; Sternberg & William, 1998). Studies done between 1975 and 1980 have demonstrated that highly creative adults, including scientists, mathematicians, writers, and artists, score very high on tests of general intelligence (Barron & Harrington, 1981). However, Feldhusen and Goh (1995) pointed out that although creativity

is often defined as a parallel construct to intelligence, it differs from intelligence in that it is not restricted to cognitive or intellectual functioning or behavior.

Instead, it is concerned with a complex mix of motivational conditions, personality factors, environmental conditions, chance factors, and even products. (pp. 231-232)

In 1999, having found weak to moderate correlations between intelligence and creativity, Sternberg and O'Hara (1999) concluded that a certain level of intelligence was needed for creativity so that one can develop, evaluate, and convincingly present ideas. Still the relationship between intelligence and creativity is quite unclear (Preckel, Holling, & Wiese, 2006).

The Cognitive Approach

The cognitive approach to creativity research focuses on the creative process rather than personality characteristics of creative people. Despite the widely held assumption that highly creative individuals suddenly come up with creative products, psychological investigations as well as documents left from artists show that often the creative work evolves throughout time and goes through different steps until it reaches its final form (Weisberg, 1986). For example, Beethoven's (1770-1827) notebooks indicate that he went through extensive revisions of his work. Another example is his sketchbook that has thirteen versions of one aria in his opera, *Fidelio* (Weisberg, 1986). The "ten-year rule" suggests that creative geniuses must hone their skills at least ten years before they reach maturity and studies have found this to be often the case (e.g., Gardner, 1993).

Two researchers who focused on the creative process were Wallas (1926) and Osborn (1953). Wallas (1926) proposed four stages in the creative process: preparation, incubation, illumination, and verification. Osborn (1953) tied his definition of creativity to the following brain functions: absorbing (gaining knowledge), retaining, imagining, and judging (Basadur & Gelade, 2003). Others suggested various theories of creative processes as well. For example, Csikszentmihalyi (1991, 1996) suggested that while creating, people experience "flow," during which they become completely absorbed with what they're doing. During "incubation," on the other hand, people do not focus on the creative task; in fact, they do something completely unrelated, such as walking or cooking, and suddenly have an insight (Torrance & Safter, 1999).

Several researchers have focused on methods to train and stimulate creative potential based on identification of creative processes (Feldhusen & Goh, 1995; Torrance, 1972). For example, the Creative Problem Solving (CPS) model (Osborn, 1963; Parnes, 1992) has six steps which are systematically applied: Mess finding (finding the problem); data finding (gathering information); problem finding (stating the problem at hand); idea finding (coming up with various ideas without restriction); solution finding (evaluating ideas, making decisions); and acceptance finding (pinpointing resources, obstacles, supporters, and implementing solutions or ideas).

The Socio-Cultural Approach

It was not until the 1980s that a socio-cultural approach to creativity emerged, which was “a necessary correction to the earlier almost exclusive focus on creative persons” (Ryhammar & Brolin, 1999, p. 269). Until then, creativity had been expressed as a talent that is within the boundaries of the individual (Cropley, 2006) and the focus had been solely on internal causes, while external causes were excluded (Amabile, 1996). Many believed that as long as a person was creative, he or she could exercise this creativity anywhere (Lubart, 1990). During the 80s, discussions on creativity started to include historical, social, and cultural factors (Rudowicz, 2004). But what do culture and society mean?

The word “culture” comes from *cultura* in Latin, which means tending or nurturing, as well as devotion and honor (Williams, 1987). Culture related to agriculture and the growth of crops until the early 16th century when its meaning extended to the process of human development (Williams, 1987). Between the 17th and 19th century,

culture often referred to the greatest achievements of human creativity in art, literature, music, and sometimes religion (Payne, 1997). The word was often used to describe the works of intellectual and artistic activity. The same application today can be seen in ministries of culture, which deal with various artistic domains (Williams, 1987).

Recently, however, these phenomena have not been called culture, but instances of “high culture,” leaving culture to refer to the “totality of customs and beliefs of a people”

(Weiner, 2000, p. 99). Regarding “society,” Parekh (2000) pointed out that

although culture and society are inseparable in the sense that there is neither a society without a culture nor a culture which is not associated with some society, the two have different focus and orientation... Society refers to a group of human beings and the structure of their relations, culture to the content and the organizing and legitimizing principles of these relations. (p. 146)

Numerous researchers have indicated the impact of socio-cultural factors on creativity (e.g., Albert & Runco, 1999; Gardner, 1993; Gruber, 1981; Harrington, 1990; Lubart & Georgsdottir, 2004; Mumford & Gustafson, 1988; Simonton, 1975, 1992; Sternberg & Lubart, 1991; Vass, 2004) which has led to various theories that unite the three approaches and include socio-cultural factors, personal characteristics, and cognitive processes. For example, Sternberg’s (1986) Triarchic Theory of Intellectual Giftedness is composed of three subtheories that emphasize both creative individuals and their relationships with the environment: (1) “a componential subtheory” relating intelligence to the person’s internal world; (2) “an experiential subtheory” relating intelligence to the person’s internal and external worlds; and (3) “a contextual

subtheory” relating intelligence to the person’s external world (p. 240). Not surprisingly, this theory has been found to be useful in its application to different cultures (Ngara & Porath, 2004).

Feldhusen and Goh (1995) indicated that in order to understand the nature of creativity, a holistic view needs to be adopted, where external stimuli, the impact of the environment, and the processes within the person are viewed as a whole. Supporting this view, Lubart (1990) suggested that creativity is the result of the interaction between a person and a culture, and that culture “defines the nature of creativity and the creative process, promotes certain forms and domains as creative, and regulates the general level of creativity” (p. 55). According to Westwood and Low (2003), creativity is not only related to the individual’s cognitive processes, but it also has “a social dimension” (p. 235). Moreover, Sternberg (1986) suggested that persons with exceptional intelligence not only adapt to their environment, but also shape their environment, and actively select environments.

On the other hand, some researchers turned their focus mostly on society’s role in creativity, suggesting that creativity was almost completely social. For example, Weisberg (1986) suggested that genius is a characteristic that is awarded a person by society. According to Gardner (1993), people who are involved in the field determine the future of a person’s creative products.

Research suggests that socio-cultural factors have an impact not only on the creative individual, as outlined previously, but also on the shaping and acceptance of creative products (e.g., Albert & Runco, 1999; Gardner, 1993; Gruber, 1981; Harrington,

1990; Lubart & Georgsdottir, 2004; Mumford & Gustafson, 1988; Simonton, 1975, 1992; Sternberg & Lubart, 1991; Vass, 2004; Weisberg, 1993). Creative products are especially important, as definitions of creativity often include the production of socially recognized and valued products (Barron & Harrington, 1981; Jackson & Butterfield, 1986; Renzulli, 1986; Tannenbaum, 1986). In fact, creativity is often seen as an ability which can be demonstrated in trials, such as contests, and which can be compared among individuals (Barron & Harrington, 1981). Weisberg (1993) uses the term “genius” to refer to an individual whose work has extraordinary worth or influence in society. According to Gardner (1993), the creative individual is someone who creates products or brings up questions that are first deemed new, but later are accepted in a certain setting. Seitz (2003) pointed out that social institutions and the social and cultural organization of a field are what validate creative products, which “constitute the public face of creativity” (Cropley, 2006, p. 125).

The reason for society’s impact on the determination of what is creative may be because it is society that determines the concept of novelty (Weisberg, 1993). Some believe that a product created that was formerly nonexistent is novel, while some suggest that a product is also novel when it is the result of combining old ideas in new ways (Weisberg, 1993). (This is one of the differences between Western and non-Western societies, which are explained later.) In addition, the perception of what is and is not a creative product changes over time; in fact, often, highly creative products that are the result of genius are not valued in their time (Weisberg, 1993). An example of this is J. S. Bach (1685-1750) whose music, although accepted today as a product of musical

genius, was ignored for over half a century after his death. It was only after various changes in societies' views on music (both Bach's native German community and Western community as a whole) that Bach was proclaimed a genius (Weisberg, 1993). Ludwig (1995) pointed out the difficulty of identifying highly creative, gifted people, because

with the transience of fame, many of those who qualify as eminent at one time may not at another. Other potential geniuses languish in relative obscurity, their reputations lost to posterity because of insufficient media coverage, indifferent public reception of their contributions... or social conditions that reduce the value of their achievements. (p. 17)

Socio-cultural factors may not impact all creative domains in the same way (Lubart, 1990). For example, a highly dogmatic culture may inhibit creativity in art and music, but stimulate a creative reaction in literature. After surveying different artistic and scientific domains, Gardner (1993) found that musicians were most dependent on socio-cultural factors and that "the making of music emerges as an intensely public activity" (p. 188). However, in general, political fragmentation has been found to have a catalyzing effect on creativity across different cultures and historical periods (Simonton, 1975).

Two of the researchers who have contributed greatly to the socio-cultural approach to creativity are Amabile (1983, 1990, 1996) and Csikszentmihalyi (1990, 1996). Csikszentmihalyi (1990) concluded that creativity was "not an attribute of individuals but of social systems making judgments about individuals" (p. 198).

According to his systems view, creativity is the result of the interaction of three elements. The first is the domain consisting of a set of symbolic rules and procedures, such as mathematics. Well-defined domains contain a well-elaborated set of criteria of excellence and they are a part of the shared knowledge in cultures. The second element is the field consisting of a set of social institutions. It includes “gatekeepers” to the domain who decide whether a new product or idea should be included in the domain. A field can encourage novelty (a proactive field), or it can be indifferent to novelty (a reactive field). The third element is the individual person who brings something new to the domain (Csikszentmihalyi, 1996; Csikszentmihalyi & Robinson, 1986; Rostan, Pariser, & Gruber, 2002). The systems view recognizes the importance of personal characteristics for an individual to be recognized as creative, but suggests that they cannot be predicted a priori and that environmental factors are vital (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990). As a result of their 20-year long research, Csikszentmihalyi and Robinson (1986) suggested that creative talent could be a personal trait but it needs a relationship with “culturally defined opportunities for action” (p. 264). Creativity happens in “the interaction between a person’s thoughts and socio-cultural context” (Csikszentmihalyi, 1996, p. 23). Csikszentmihalyi also differentiated between two kinds of creativity: The “Big C” is creativity that highly creative individuals possess and the “little c” is creativity that people use for their everyday lives.

Amabile (1983, 1990, 1996) focused on the creative product, rather than the creative person or process, and did extensive research on motivation. Her model of creativity is composed of domain-relevant skills, creativity-relevant skills, and task

motivation, all of which are either honed or not by social factors (Amabile, 1983, 1996). According to Amabile (1990), a product is creative if the people who are within the certain field (such as literary critics or other writers in literature) agree that it is creative. Thus, a product would be judged “as creative to the extent that (a) it is both a novel and appropriate, useful, correct or valuable response to the task at hand, and (b) the task is heuristic rather than algorithmic” (Amabile, 1996, p. 35). She suggested that it was impossible to create objective criteria for the assessment of creativity (Amabile, 1983).

Amabile’s (1996) research on motivation has found mixed results. More often than not, extrinsic motivation (such as working for a reward) diminishes creativity, while intrinsic motivation not only enhances creativity, but is essential to it. On the other hand, some forms of extrinsic motivation may have no impact, or some positive impact, on creativity, such as decreasing the importance of the reward and presenting it as an unexpected bonus (Amabile, 1996). She also found that the expectation of evaluation hindered creativity both in adults and in children.

Socio-Cultural Factors That Impact Creativity

Research has found various socio-cultural factors that impact creativity, such as education, other people (family members, peers, mentors), politics, gender, and language. Following are findings related to each of these factors.

Education. Creativity in education has been a popular area of interest and research has shown that education is a key socio-cultural factor in the development of creativity (Amabile, 1983, 1990, 1996; Simonton, 2006). Studies found that educational settings that give opportunities for practice, involvement, and interaction, while

providing sufficient structure enhance creativity (Piirto, 2004; Torrance, 1972). Amabile (1983, 1990, 1996) emphasized the process of education as the most influential environmental factor. She found that relevant skills are cultivated by formal and informal education and creativity-relevant skills are enhanced by training, experience, and greater self-control (Amabile, 1983).

Family Members, Peers, and Mentors. Research has found that immediate and extended family members (e.g., Amabile, 1996; Gardner, 1993; Piirto, 2004; Simonton, 1992) as well as teachers and mentors (e.g., Bronowski & Mazlish, 1960; Gardner, 1993; Piirto, 2004) are influential in the lives of creative geniuses in various ways. Family members have often been found to take on the role of guides or role models (Amabile, 1996; Gardner, 1993). At the age of 14, Leonardo Da Vinci's (1452-1519) father took him to Florence to become the apprentice of the distinguished artist Andrea del Verrochio (Bronowski & Mazlish, 1960). The Polish-born French physicist Marie Curie (1867-1934) was raised by her father who focused on the intellectual development of his children, sent his children to school, and emphasized the importance of reading: "On intellectual activity, with every member teaching or attending school... Reading aloud was the main family entertainment" (Kerr, 1985). French novelist, playwright, and proponent of Existentialism, Jean-Paul Sartre (1905-1980) came from an esteemed, upper-class family: His maternal grandfather was an educator, a minister, and a musician; his paternal grandfather was a physician (Ludwig, 1995). One of the leading painters in 20th-century American art, Georgia O'Keeffe (1887-1986), was raised by a mother who paid attention to the intellectual development of her children; for example,

she read the classics to them and had them take private art lessons (Kerr, 1985).

Einstein's (1879-1955) uncle encouraged his scholarly studies; Picasso's (1881-1973) uncle funded his trips abroad; and Eliot's (1888-1965) mother was a poet (Gardner, 1993).

Despite these positive influences from family members, research also suggests that creative geniuses often experience traumatic events as children, such as a death in the family (Amabile, 1996; Piirto, 2004; Simonton, 1992). They also tend to have unconventional families and family traumas, such as parental disability, neglect, or parental alcoholism (Piirto, 2004). Sometimes a parent is highly structured and puts pressure on the child, which leads the latter to break free (Gardner, 1993).

In addition to family members, mentors, teachers, and peers are also influential in the lives of highly creative individuals. After his extensive research on artists, scientists, and inventors, Simonton (1992) commented that "exceptional accomplishments are part of a more comprehensive set of influences and interactions, some cooperative and other competitive, some intimate and others remote" (p. 461). Interestingly, young creative geniuses tend to seek out effective role models while accomplished creative geniuses seek out those they can mentor (Amabile, 1996). The influence of others is so important that just observing a creative act can enhance persons' creativity (e.g., Mueller, 1978). Highly creative individuals learn not only from mentors, but also from their peers both in and outside of their own culture (Bronowski & Mazlish, 1960; Piirto, 2004). An example is the literary Bloomsbury Group which met frequently for over 20 years and included

writers such as T. S. Eliot (1888-1965), Ezra Pound (1885-1972), E. M. Forster (1879-1970), Lytton Strachey (1880-1932), and Virginia Woolf (1882-1941) (Gardner, 1993).

Politics. Studies have found that the government's view on creativity is influential for creative individuals (e.g., Simonton, 1975). For example, artists who lived during the Renaissance, such as Da Vinci, Raphael (1483-1520), and Michelangelo (1475-1564), were supported and encouraged because the government embraced art, creativity, and the potential of genius (Gardner, 1993; Weiner, 2000). Amabile (1983) found that having financial support frees the creative person from having to focus on financial issues. For example, between the 13th and 17th centuries, the Italian bourgeois families that ruled Florence supported artists greatly (Weiner, 2000).

Political events may prompt different types of reactions in creative genius. While composer Stravinsky was stimulated by political events and writer Eliot used political issues in his work, dancer Graham and painter Picasso did not get involved with it except if their presence was wanted (Gardner, 1993). While civil disturbances such as popular revolts, rebellions, and revolutions tend to be stimuli for creativity, political instability such as military coups tends to be a hindrance (Simonton, 1975). While revolts, rebellions, and revolutions are usually achieved by a large number of people working for basic economic, social, or political change, a coup d'Etat is achieved by a small group and involves the control of the police, the army, or other military forces (Encyclopædia Britannica, 2007d).

Gender. Gender is a socio-cultural factor that has been found to greatly impact individuals and their creativity (Lubart, 1990). Gender-based roles are shaped by society

and in turn impact creative development and expression (Mar'i & Karayanni, 1983). In fact, “from the moment a baby is born, adults begin to shape either masculine or feminine behavior” and by the time they turn seven, children have learned and internalized sex-role stereotyping (Kerr, 1985, p. 127).

While some studies found no gender-based differences in creativity (e.g., Baer & Kaufman, 2006; Kogan, 1974), others found some differences between men and women (e.g., Card, Steele, & Abeles, 1980; Chan, Cheung, Lau, Wu, Kwong, & Li, 2001; Dudek, Strobel, & Runco, 1993; Gilligan, 1985). Yewchuk (et al., 2001) found that changes in cultures and societies may lead to changes in the differences between men and women; for example, the difference between teenage girls and boys in verbal, mathematical, and spatial ability decreased from 1970s to the 1990s. Csikszentmihalyi's (1996) study on 91 highly creative individuals indicated that marriage had negative effects on women's creativity. His longitudinal study found that 18 years after graduation, few of the female art students who had scored as highly—or higher—than men on measures of creative potential worked as full-time artists and none had reached first-rank recognition (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990). Some studies have found that even in societies with “equal” gender rights and roles, women tend to downplay their talents and underachieve when competing with men (Horner, 1972; Kerr, 1985), or feel like they are imposters and that their intelligence is not real (Clance & Imes, 1978).

Before the 19th century, certain works were not valued because they were seen as being “women's things,” such as pottery and weaving (Weimer, 2000). Various 19th century reform movements in Western Europe and America opened the way for modern

feminist campaigns (Chadwick, 1992). Temperance and Suffrage movements impacted the lives of women in the middle and upper class who wanted to have professional careers in the arts (Chadwick, 1992). Varying social roles of women in the 20th century also influenced the development of the concept of creativity (Weimer, 2000). Women gained the right to do what had been considered “male” and they could prove their equality in areas such as music, writing, politics, and science. The focus on creativity in women versus men, and the investigation of “psychological masculinity,” “matriarchal consciousness,” and “psychological androgyny” was pioneered by Ravenna Helson (1966) and was followed by studies of creative women in the 1970s. Despite developments, Yewchuk, Aysto, and Schlosser (2001) suggest that both educational research and psychological research have neglected women who are highly creative and they point out that in Western history, “about 97% of the illustrious people have been males” (p. 90).

Research suggests that highly creative people are not concerned with traditional gender roles (Amabile, 1983; McKinnon, 1968; Weiner, 2000). In fact, creative men show traits that are considered stereotypically feminine, such as sensitivity and emotionality, and creative women show traits that are considered stereotypically masculine, such as assertiveness and an individualistic perspective.

Language. Several studies support the view that language forms a lens through which the world is viewed (e.g., Carringer, 1974; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Lambert, 1977; Hoffman, Lau, & Johnson, 1986) and thus impacts thinking skills (e.g., Mohanty & Babu, 1983) and creative productivity (e.g., Torrance, Gowan, Wu, & Aliotti, 1970).

One basic impact of culture is the formation of language, which “structures categories and the relationships between words that guide a person’s understanding of reality” (Lubart, 1990, p. 47). Meanings of words are created by the people using them and these meanings are then supported by society (Maynard, 2004). According to Maynard (2004) the creative form of writing is the result of a compromise between social norms, the individual, and the individual’s personal expression.

This section provided information on socio-cultural factors that were found to have an impact on creativity including education, other people (family members, peers, mentors), politics, gender, and language. Research has found that education is a key socio-cultural factor in the development of creativity (Amabile, 1983, 1990, 1996; Simonton, 2006). While immediate and extended family members (e.g., Amabile, 1996; Gardner, 1993; Piirto, 2004; Simonton, 1992) and teachers and mentors (e.g., Bronowski & Mazlish, 1960; Gardner, 1993; Piirto, 2004) are influential in positive ways, highly creative individuals also often experience traumatic family events as children (Amabile, 1996; Piirto, 2004; Simonton, 1992). While political events may prompt different types of reactions in creative individuals, in general, civil disturbances tend to be stimuli for creativity and political instability such as military coups tends to be a hindrance (Simonton, 1975). Gender (Lubart, 1990) and language (Mohanty & Babu, 1983; Torrance, Gowan, Wu, & Aliotti, 1970) have also been found to impact creative productivity. The next section is a summary of various research methods applied in creativity research, with special focus on the case study method used in this study.

Common Research Methods in Creativity Research

The three approaches to creativity research have employed a variety of methods, with each approach focusing on some methods more than others. Both the socio-cultural approach and the personality approach have made use of biographical and historical information on creative individuals who are deceased or alive (e.g., Gardner, 1993; Oral, Kaufman, & Sexton, 2004; Simonton, 1975, 1992) and their creative products (e.g., Kaufman, Baer, & Gentile, 2004) (Ryhammar & Brolin, 1999). To gather information on creative mental processes, the cognitive approach has employed creative thinking tests (e.g., Glover, 1976; Iscoe & Pierce-Jones, 1964; Knox & Glover, 1978) such as the Torrance Tests of Creative Thinking (Torrance, 1962, 1972) and questionnaires (e.g., Kaufman, 2006; Oral, 2006b; Stricker, Rock, & Bennett, 2001; Torrance, 2004) (Ryhammar & Brolin, 1999). Although longitudinal studies throughout creative persons' life spans (e.g., Burks, Jensen, & Terman, 1930; Card, Steele, & Abeles, 1980; Terman & Oden, 1959) and interviews (e.g., Csikszentmihalyi, 1996; Rothenberg, 1979) have been used for all three approaches, they have most frequently been used to gain an understanding of cognitive processes (Ryhammar & Brolin, 1999).

Researchers in the field of creativity have used both quantitative and qualitative methods. While researchers like Simonton (1975, 1992) used quantitative methods with large datasets, researchers like Gardner (1993), Gruber (1981), and Torrance (2004) also used qualitative in-depth case studies of highly creative individuals to determine personality characteristics and the impact of socio-cultural factors. An example of a qualitative case study is the one conducted by Gardner (1993), who studied the lives of

seven creative geniuses (Freud, Einstein, Picasso, Stravinsky, T. S. Eliot, Martha Graham, and Gandhi) and included analysis of historical and biographical documents. He focused on the organizing themes that emerged from analyzing the individuals, their relationship with other persons, and their relationship with their work.

Western and Non-Western Cultures and Views of Creativity

As the literature suggests, most of the studies on creativity have been in Western countries. According to Westwood and Low (2003), there are insufficient findings to make any conclusive assertions about the personal and cognitive differences related to creativity between people from different cultures. They also indicate that arguments made about creativity in the U.S. and other Western countries are “frequently alarmingly ahistorical and neglectful of the significant innovative achievements in other cultures” (Westwood & Low, 2003, p. 250). The psychological literature almost always represents the American or Western perspective of creativity (Oral, Kaufman, Agars, 2007), which leads to the literature being culturally biased and the theories of creativity being based on a certain cultural perspective. An example is the view of the Japanese as “imitators” and not creators, which shows the lack of understanding of the Japanese view of creativity (Westwood & Low, 2003). Often creativity tests that have been developed in Western societies have been used in non-Western ones (like the Torrance Tests of Creativity in India and Israel) with the assumption that the sense of creativity was universal (Lubart, 1990; Tanwan, 1977; Ziv, 1976). Western societies, especially northern Europe, the United States, and the former and present nations of the British Commonwealth assume that certain generalizations apply to everyone (Nisbett, 2003).

These generalizations include the following: People want to be different and distinctive from others; they like to have choices and be in control; they focus on personal goals of achievement and success; and in personal relationships, people prefer equality, or if there is a hierarchy, they prefer a superior position (Payne, 1997). Of course, not all European societies' views of creativity are the same. For example, while the French tend to focus more on the creative individual, the creative process, the product, and the environment, the German tend to focus more on the creative individual, the creative process, the problem, and the product (Sternberg, 2006).

In order to gain an understanding of creativity in non-Western societies, it is important to explore the ways in which they differ from Western societies. The meaning of culture and society and what they represent vary greatly from country to country. Increasing globalism and the West's emerging multiculturalism has led to relativism and an inclusive attitude, which has expanded to the concept of creativity (Weiner, 2000). This section provides information on Western and non-Western cultures and views of creativity. "Non-Western" includes Asia, Southeast Asia, Africa, and the Middle East, while "Western" refers to North America, Europe, and Australia.

It is important to point out that presenting generalizations created in Western and non-Western societies also entails making generalizations in itself. It would be quite impossible to compare every single aspect of different cultures. For example, although "Asian" signifies a group of societies, there are several differences within these societies. The majority of Chinese people living in Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore, and Mainland China share the same ethnicity, however, there are great historical and

sociopolitical differences among them (Rudowicz, 2004). Not only are there differences between societies, but there are also differences that exist within each society (Scollon & Scollon, 2001). However, this dissertation adopts a general view on culture at the societal level and this section compares and contrasts Western cultures with those that are considered “non-Western.”

Differences in Western and Non-Western Cultures

Nineteenth-century German social scientists, notably Ferdinand Tönnies (1887-1988), coined the cultural distinction between *Gesellschaft* (an institution facilitating action to accomplish influential goals) and *Gemeinschaft* (a community based on a shared identity) (Nisbett, 2003). *Gemeinschaft* is often called a collectivistic social system and *Gesellschaft* is often called an individualist social system (Nisbett, 2003). It is important to note that a society or institution is never exclusively individualistic or collectivistic, but the general orientation of tendencies is very important for modern social science. Western cultures tend to be more individualistic, independent, idiocentric, with “private self-concepts and an identity emphasizing internal traits preferences, and abilities” (Karakitapoğlu-Aygün, 2004, p. 458). They are self-motivated and their concept of self is open to continuing negotiation (Scollon & Scollon, 2001). On the other hand, non-Western cultures tend to be collectivistic and interdependent, where one’s identity is directly linked to one’s social roles and membership of the community (Karakitapoğlu-Aygün, 2004). Collectivist tendencies can even be observed in languages. For example, in Chinese there is no word for “individualism”—the closest

word is “selfishness” and in Japanese, there are many words for “I” depending on the audience and context (Nisbett, 2003).

Several studies have demonstrated further differences between Western and non-Western cultures. Holmberg, Markus, Herzog, and Franks’ (1997) study found that when asked to talk about themselves, North Americans tended to talk about personality traits, role categories (occupation), and social activities, while the Chinese, Korean, and Japanese focused on how they were in a certain context, such as the work environment or with friends (Nisbett, 2003). Asians tended to make many more references to social roles including others than North Americans. Another study found that when talking about themselves, twice as many Japanese as American referred to other people (Cousins, 1989). Nisbett (2003) found that Koreans thought personalities were more subject to change than Americans did. Morris and Peng (1994) found evidence for different causal attributions between cultures. While the Chinese tend to attribute behavior to the situation, North Americans attribute that same behavior to the person. Sastry and Ross’ (1998) survey indicated that while European Americans strongly associated feeling in control of their lives with mental health, Asians and Asian Americans did not think so. When confronted with two conflicting propositions, people in Western cultures tend to polarize, displaying “either-or” logic, while people in Eastern and Asian cultures tend to be open to equal acceptance of both (Nisbett, 2003). Those from Western cultures unconsciously pay more attention to objects, see stability, organize the world into categories, and insist on correctness in arguments, while those

from non-Western cultures pay more attention to environments, see change, organize the world according to relationships, and seek the middle way in arguments (Nisbett, 2003).

The issue of the traditional versus the new has been debated in the West for several centuries. Often, while traditional cultures, such as those emphasizing the past and already established rules, have different degrees of fixed social roles and structures, modern cultures, such as those focusing on the present and rules that are being developed, have social roles and positions that are influenced by individuals' actions (Weiner, 2000). In addition to this, Western cultures strive for the new, while traditional, non-Western cultures retain the old which is related to the perception of time (Weiner, 2000). While for Western cultures time is “monochronic, linear, and discrete,” for Eastern cultures, time is “polychronic, circular, and elastic” (Westwood & Low, 2003, p. 239). The Western mindset focuses on the future, which is perceived as the desired aim—to move ahead and progress forward. Meanwhile, the non-Western, traditional (especially Asian) mindsets focus on the past, which is viewed as better than the present (Scollon & Scollon, 2001). Western cultures focus more on the short-term, while non-Western cultures focus more on the long-term, placing importance on preparation, persistence, and group cooperation (Westwood & Low, 2003).

It has generally been assumed that cultures that are nontraditional and that emphasize self-sufficiency, individualism, independence, and risk-taking (i.e. mostly Western cultures) foster creativity (Lubart, 1990). Although research has generally supported this assumption (e.g., Maduro, 1976; Torrance, 1962), some alternative explanations have been suggested. Lubart (1990) pointed out that all cultures may have

elements that foster or hinder creativity. Westwood and Low (2003) proposed that characteristics in different cultures may in fact correspond to different steps of creative productiveness. For example, while individualism is conducive to the first stages of the development of a creative idea and product, collectivism is conducive to the implementation of the creative idea or product (Westwood & Low, 2003). Collectivistic societies may help enhance more gradual innovations and focus on actual production through group work, cooperation, and consensus (Westwood & Low, 2003). Indeed, Earley's (1993) research showed that people from collectivistic cultures worked better in group membership situations and they persist with their tasks (including creative tasks) when faced with obstacles. In the collectivistic African Ashanti society, wood carvers do not overtly criticize each other which leads to the encouragement of peers (Silver, 1981). According to Westwood and Low (2003), suggesting that "individualistic societies value freedom more than collectivistic societies and freedom is necessary for creativity" is "another unwarranted generalization and represents a 'Eurocentric' interpretation" (p. 249). Weiner (2000) suggests that tradition is not the opposite of creativity when we look at traditional societies:

It is easy, for example, for an outsider to look at a seemingly simplistic and often repeated image of an animal in clay, cloth, or paint, as clear evidence of primitiveness and lack of creativity. However, it could well be that the image expresses a sacred, ceremonial obligation, is intentionally abstract, and intentionally open to multiple, symbolic meanings... We are likely to find that traditional cultures utilize their creations in multiple ways. Wooden paddles of

the northwest American Indian tribes are used for stirring acorn mush; because they are elaborately carved, they may also serve as decorative pieces when not in use; they are given as gifts, usually from a man trying to impress or please a special woman. (Weiner, 2000, p. 153)

Thus, differences between Western and non-Western cultures include individualism versus collectivism, independence versus interdependence, short-term focus versus long-term focus, as well as differences in causal attributions, logical reasoning, perception of the old and the new, and perception of time. Another difference between Western and non-Western cultures is found in their views on creativity. Western views of creativity are briefly presented in the next section, which is followed by information on Non-Western views of creativity.

Western Views of Creativity

Rudowicz (2004) pointed out that for a long time, Western psychologists attributed creativity mostly to dispositional factors, such as personality characteristics, life span development, and cognitive processes, which led studies to ignore cultural differences. Western researchers did not consider anyone or anything beyond the creative individual and chose to “decontextualize the creativity process” (Hennessey, 2004, p. 203). Thus, it was assumed that definitions of creativity and creative genius were universal.

According to the popular view of what a genius is in American culture, the prominent characteristic of highly creative individuals are their unusual, phenomenal, and mostly unconscious thought processes (Seitz, 2003, p. 385). According to the

dominant view, creativity (a) involves producing something new; (b) can be achieved by anyone, anywhere; (c) is evaluated as good; and (d) makes society stronger (Weiner, 2000). Creative individuals are viewed as open-minded, flexible, and as people who are willing to take risks (Weiner, 2000). In addition to this, a country with freedom and democracy is seen as conducive to creativity (Weiner, 2000).

In Western cultures, creativity is often viewed as an instrument for efficiency used to solve problems and find solutions (Westwood & Low, 2003). How an artist's creativity is viewed greatly depends on how innovative he or she is (Frey, 2002). The focus is on the observable product: Creativity is based on the ability to produce work that is original and appropriate (Lubart, 1990; Lubart & Georgsdottir, 2004). Like the perception of time, Western views of creativity are linear, leaving one point and moving to the next, leaving the old and creating the new. Creativity is seen as "a break with tradition and moving beyond what exists" (Westwood & Low, 2003, p. 239). Creative individuals are willing to break from tradition, focus on self-actualization and the future, and receive acknowledgment of their individual accomplishments (Rudowicz, 2004).

Non-Western Views of Creativity

In some non-Western societies, creativity is often attributed to social or even spiritual forces (Ngara & Porath, 2004; Rudowicz, 2004). Unlike Western views, non-Western views focus more on the creative process than the product (Lubart & Georgsdottir, 2004; Weiner, 2000). For certain cultures creativity is a process through which one can attain enlightenment and inner peace. Westwood and Low (2003) point out that creativity entails

reiterative and repeated reconfigurations of a pre-established, holistic reality. In this sense, creation is not a newness but a rediscovery... The creative person must find ways to access the insight, understanding and truth that are already pre-existent, but which must be made psychologically manifest through the creative process. (p. 239)

Characteristics of Western views of creativity such as willingness to break from tradition, the focus on the future, and the emphasis on individual accomplishments are all contrary to almost all Asian and most Middle Eastern societies (Rudowicz, 2004). While original thinking is seen as important in both Western and non-Western views of creativity, the exact definitions of original or novel differ (Lubart & Georgsdottir, 2004). Related to the perception of time as cyclical, non-Western societies view working on, improving, or reinterpreting traditional ideas as novel and creative (Lubart & Georgsdottir, 2004; Weiner, 2000).

Moran and John-Steiner's (2004) term "connective motivation" focuses on the partnership process of collaboration in creativity and is more apparent in non-Western societies where identities are formed more interdependently. In such cultures, people are less focused on their own self-expression and are concerned with relationships with others (Moran & John-Steiner, 2004).

In spite of the differences in views on creativity, such as the focus on the process versus product and the emphasis on breaking from tradition, there are instances where Western and non-Western views overlap (Lubart, 1990). For example, a study found that the Ashanti, an African society, view creativity as innovation (Silver, 1981), which is

similar to the Western view of creativity. Another study found that while woodcarving, members of Benin, another African society, go through Wallas' (1926) four steps of creative process (Ben-Amos, 1986), which suggests that Wallas' (1926) four steps may indeed be universal.

Most of the studies on creativity in non-Western cultures have been conducted in Asian societies, such as China (e.g., Cox, Perara, & Fan, 1998; Leung, Au, & Leung, 2004; Niu & Sternberg, 2001; Weber, Hsee, & Sokolowska, 1998; Weiner, 2000; Wu, 2004), Japan (e.g., Campbell, 1990; Maynard, 2004), Hong Kong (e.g., Hong, Chiu, & Kung, 1997; Jaquish & Ripple, 1984), and Malasia (e.g., Palaniappan, 1996).

Hennessey (2004) observed that although Asian researchers probably contributed to the creativity literature more than any other non-Western society, they did not focus much on the social psychology of creativity, but mostly focused on the role of creativity in Asian societies. Some studies have also been done in several other non-Western countries, such as Sudan (e.g., Khaleefa, Erdos, & Ashria, 1996), Papua New Guinea (e.g., Feld, 1984), Iran (e.g., Campbell, 1990), Africa (e.g., Ben-Amos, 1986; Mpofu, 2004); India (e.g., Albert & Runco, 1999; Maduro, 1976; Mohan & Tiwana, 1987; Westwood & Low, 2003), Israel (Barak & Goffer, 2002; Landau & Maoz, 1978; Ziv, 1976) and Saudi Arabia (e.g., Mar'i & Karayanni, 1983). One country where creativity research has recently drawn attention is Turkey.

The Turkish Context

Recently Turkey has been recognized by researchers as a rich context for creativity research (Oral, Kaufman, & Sexton, 2004). Turkey, situated between Asia and

Europe, has had an important role in the relationship of the two continents. As of 2006, its population is 72,932,000 (68 percent of the population is between the ages of 15 and 64) and its area encompasses 302,535 square miles (Central Intelligence Agency, 2007; Encyclopædia Britannica, 2007g). It is one of the largest countries in the Middle East, in terms of both territory and population, and it is bigger than the members of the European Union, in terms of territory (Central Intelligence Agency, 2007; Encyclopædia Britannica, 2007g). According to an estimation in 2004, the rate of literacy (defined as people who are 15 or older who can read and write) is 87% of the total population—95% male and 80% female (Central Intelligence Agency, 2007).

Only recently have studies on creativity emerged in Turkey (e.g., Günçer & Oral, 1993; Öner, 2000; Oral, 2006b; Oral, Kaufman, Agars, 2007; Yakmacı-Güzel & Akarsu, 2006; Yurtsever, 1999) and much of the creativity research has been geared towards education, such as the inclusion of creativity in education (e.g., Aksu, 1985; Ardaç & Muğlaoğlu, 2000; Demircan, 1990; Hasırcı, 2003; Yontar, 1994) and the enhancement of student creativity (e.g., Halıcı, 2001; İlhan & Okvuran, 2001; Kurtuluş, 2001; Öztürk, 2002; San, 2004). While some studies on creativity in Turkey reflect findings of studies conducted in Western populations, some studies suggest that certain aspects of creativity are different for Turkish individuals. For example, a study on Turkish students found that creativity tended to increase with age and was significantly correlated with intrinsic motivation, just like in Western societies (Oral, Kaufman, & Agars, 2007). On the other hand, in another study, Turkish participants' views of innovation were dependent on the context, where innovation was welcomed in relation to work, science, and technology,

but not in interpersonal relationships. This contrasts Kirton's theory suggesting that styles of creativity (innovativeness-adaptiveness) are unrelated to the context (Öner, 2000).

A study by Oral, Kaufman, and Sexton (2004) is particularly interesting because it investigated the relationship between various socio-cultural factors in the lives of Turkish creative writers and their level of success. After studying the biographies of 948 creative writers, they found that while political persecution and gender were not significant predictors of winning an award, education level and the era in which the writers lived were significant predictors. While a certain level of education, such as a bachelor's degree, had a positive impact on a writer's success, too much education, such as a doctorate, had a negative impact. While Oral, Kaufman, and Sexton's (2004) quantitative study reveals important statistical information, it does not provide any qualitative data such as the writers' experiences and opinions regarding these socio-cultural factors or information on how these factors actually influenced them. A necessary extension of this study would be qualitative case studies of highly creative Turkish writers using interviews that explore the socio-cultural factors and how they helped or hindered the development of their creativity.

Factors Impacting Creativity in the Context of Turkish History

The section above provided brief information about Turkey and creativity research in Turkey, specifically Oral, Kaufman, and Sexton's (2004) quantitative study. In order for a qualitative study focusing on socio-cultural issues to be meaningful, background information on the specific context of Turkey is needed. Thus, this section

presents socio-cultural factors that have been found to impact creativity within the context of Turkish history. These factors are education, the government and socio-political events, gender issues, and the Turkish language. Some information on the novel in Turkish literature and writers' relationship with politics is presented. The presentation of each factor includes available information pertaining to creativity and literature.

Education

The Turkish school system has gone through many fluctuations since the founding of the Turkish Republic and these fluctuations have led to many problems (Oral, 2006a). Today, the Turkish high school system is composed of public high schools, private schools (where all education is in a foreign language), public Anatolian high schools (emphasizing a foreign language), and schools of fine art (Acar & Ayata, 2002). Higher education institutions include public universities, liberal arts colleges, land-grant universities, state academies (professional schools), distance education programs, teachers' colleges, conservatories, academies of fine art, and two-year vocational schools (Turkish Republic Council of Higher Education, n.d.). While conservatories, which focus on theater and music, and academies of fine art, which focus on painting and sculpture are university-level institutions, schools of fine art are on the high school level. Mandatory education was increased from five years to eight in 1997 (Karaca, 2006). In 2001, the total number of Turkish universities reached 76; student enrolment was 1,664,364; the annual number of graduates was 245,433; and the number of academic staff was 70,012 (Turkish Republic Council of Higher Education, n.d., p. 8).

In the Ottoman Empire, the first educational institutions (*medrese*), which offered courses in religion, rhetoric, canon law, philosophy, mathematics, astronomy, and medicine, were established in 1335 (Belge, 2005; Turkish Republic Council of Higher Education, n.d.). A big shift in Ottoman education took place in the 18th century during which the first non-traditional schools were established (Turkish Republic Council of Higher Education, n.d.). This change most probably occurred due to the Ottoman Empire's increasing communication with Western societies and growing westernization (Levey, 1975; Sakaoğlu, 1999). Western societies' influence on education became more apparent in the 19th century, the first half of which marked the beginning of the downfall of the Ottoman Empire (Faroghi, 1998). In 1839 the palace officially declared the general desire to modernize society, which later led to the inauguration of the *Mülkiye* in 1859, a one-year mid-level school focusing on Western-European subjects, and the *Darülfünun* (House of Sciences) in 1863, a European style university (Kazamias, 1966). Between 1839 and 1876, known as the "Period of Reforms" (*Tanzimat*) (Faroghi, 1998), several changes in education took place: Turkish was given a prominent place in school curricula; schools became secular (religion was separated); and professional training colleges for bureaucracy and the army were founded (Zurcher, 2004). European and American missionaries founded private schools emphasizing foreign languages. The westernization of education continued into the 20th century (Iskender, 1983; Turkish Republic Council of Higher Education, n.d.).

After the founding of the Turkish Republic in 1923, several educational reforms which have often been viewed as the new government's most important achievement

were made (Acar & Ayata, 2002; Ilyasoglu, 1998). The Republic's founder Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (1881-1938) emphasized that education was the most important factor in the development of enlightened individuals (Acar & Ayata, 2002; Ilyasoglu, 1998). Educational institutions were united under the Ministry of National Education, which emphasized secularism, scientific knowledge, rationality, and positivism. The Law of Unification of Education (LUE) (1924) established a uniform, modern education system that was accessible to all citizens without being distinguished for class or sex (Acar & Ayata, 2002; Ilyasoglu, 1998). The new law mandated all boys and girls to attend co-educational schools for a minimum of five years (Ersel, Kuyas, Oktay, & Tuncay, 2005a). Several independent schools and faculties were established in the new capital Ankara (Turkish Republic Council of Higher Education, n.d.).

After the founding of the Republic, foreign language education became increasingly important in Turkish schools. In 1923, private schools that had been founded by European and American missionaries were nationalized (Acar & Ayata, 2002; Turkish Republic Council of Higher Education, n.d.). A different kind of public secondary education institution called the Anatolian high school (*lise*, from the French *lycee*), also emphasizing foreign language education, emerged (Acar & Ayata, 2002).

Two additions to the Turkish educational institutions were made in the 1940s: Professional Schools and Village Institutes (*Köy Enstitüleri*) (Turkish Republic Council of Higher Education, n.d.). The purpose of the Village Institutes was to provide villagers with education which included not only regular subjects such as math and literature, but also training of daily skills needed in rural life (Ersel, Kuyas, Oktay, & Tuncay, 2005b).

The institutes were shut down in 1954, but have been a topic of frequent discussion. While many have observed that the education system of the Village Institutes promoted creative thinking and problem solving (e.g., Oral, 2006a), others have suggested they were meant to keep human potential within the limits of villages (Ersel et al., 2005b). The institutions' approach to education was not welcomed by the government, which promoted a more conservative education system (Oral, 2006a).

In the 1950s, the already existent Continental European model for universities was replaced with the American university model, since the ruling Democratic Party decided that the latter would better meet the requirements of the growing market economy (Turkish Republic Council of Higher Education, n.d.). The military coup of 1960 made modifications to the constitution which impacted education as well. For example, the autonomy of the universities was defined as the right of faculty members to elect rectors and deans (Turkish Republic Council of Higher Education, n.d.). In 1969, professional schools were organized as state academies that offered four-year bachelor-level programs similar to the polytechnics in the United Kingdom (Turkish Republic Council of Higher Education, n.d.).

The number of Turkish universities increased dramatically in the 1970s, since industry and commerce spread throughout the country in this decade, leading to a greater need for universities in various locations (Turkish Republic Council of Higher Education, n.d.). After the military coup of 1980, which was the third military intervention thus far, the new constitution of 1981 re-established the Council of Higher Education, making it a constitutional body in charge of higher education institutions, and

gave non-profit foundations the power to establish higher education institutions. These changes eliminated institutional and functional fragmentation by bringing all higher education institutions (state academies, vocational schools, conservatories, and teachers' colleges) under the Council of Higher Education; it also eliminated the government's chance for intervention (Turkish Republic Council of Higher Education, n.d.). With the establishment of eight new universities, the number of universities in the country increased to 27. Faculty members from the Open Education of Anatolian University started giving lectures on national TV for distance education programs. In 1984, the first private university, Bilkent, was founded (Turkish Republic Council of Higher Education, n.d.). In 1997, a new law increased mandatory education from five years to eight (Karaca, 2006).

Creativity in Higher Education. Unless applying for a conservatory, students' individual characteristics, their creativity, or creative potential have no bearing on their future in higher education, and thus, their future career. The reason for this is the central university entrance examination launched in 1974 (Turkish Republic Council of Higher Education, n.d.) which has little to do with creative potential. The examination, which continues to be a tremendous source of pressure for Turkish youth, has been an issue of debate since then (Turkish Republic Council of Higher Education, n.d.). In addition to this, new rules regarding the exam are passed each year, so students in 10th grade today cannot be sure of what they will have to face in two years.

The lack of emphasis on artistic talent in higher education is reflected in the numbers of university graduates for different fields. Among 775,139 university

graduates (class of 2002), the majority received their diplomas in applied social sciences and technical sciences, followed by social sciences, mathematics and natural sciences, and health sciences (see Appendix A) (Turkish Republic of Council of Higher Education, n.d.). On the other hand, the lowest number of students received their diplomas in artistic fields, such as language and literature and arts (including painting, sculpture, performing and visual arts, music, traditional Turkish handicrafts, and interior architecture). Of course, these numbers probably do not reflect students' true fields of interest or passion, but the a fact of life: In order to be able to get a job with a decent salary, one needs to focus on fields such as applied social sciences and technical sciences.

Studies on creativity in Turkish education suggest that certain aspects of education are universal in the enhancement of creativity (Oral, 2006a). For example, findings suggest that Turkish students want innovative facilities and concepts to be used to create learning environments (Halıcı, 2001) and the laboratory-oriented method of science teaching enhances operational reasoning but not creativity (Aksu, 1985). On the other hand, some findings may relate specifically to the Turkish education system. Halıcı (2001) worked with Turkish students to develop ideas that can enhance creativity in Turkish education. Students made several suggestions, such as in-service training programs for teachers and administrators that help them see different points of view and the facilitation of students' individuality (Halıcı, 2001).

The Government and Socio-Political Events

Throughout Turkish history, the government and socio-political issues have played a huge role in literature, just as writers have had an active role in political and social debates (Halman, 2006). Themes in Turkish novels include Westernization, modernity, nationalism, revival of folk culture, economical state, and human rights (Halman, 2006). This section presents information on crucial events in Turkish history that influenced society and the arts.

The Ottoman Empire (1300-1922). In the Ottoman Empire, literature was an issue of social class. Since learning the Ottoman Turkish, which used the Arabic alphabet, was both difficult and time-consuming, the general public often did not learn to read or write (Oral, Kaufman, & Sexton, 2004). Thus, oral tradition such as storytelling was prominent among the people, leading to Folk Literature (*halk edebiyatı*) while the elite who had the luxury of extensive education created Court Literature (*divan edebiyatı*). While Folk Literature consisted of mostly oral epic poems, poetry, and stories, Court Literature consisted of poetry (Belge, 2005).

In the palace and high society, poets were greatly respected and equally valued as doctors, architects, or soldiers (Belge, 2005). Between 1421 and 1536, poets received stable incomes from the palace, in addition to the extra salaries they received for writing on request (Sakaoğlu, 1999; Belge, 2005). In fact, two-thirds of the Ottoman sultans were also known for their poetry (Demirel, 1991; Faroqhi, 1998).

1923-1938. The Turkish Republic was founded on October 29th, 1923, after the Independence War (*Kurtuluş Savaşı*) (1921-1922) led by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (1881-

1938), who was a revolutionary soldier and activist officer (Encyclopædia Britannica, 2007c; Zürcher, 2004). The two main factors leading to the Independence War were the invasion of the Ottoman Empire by Greece, France, Italy, and Britain (the Allies) after World War I (1914-1918), and the Turkish people's desire for democracy, which had become apparent from riots and rebellions that started towards the end of the 19th century (Zürcher, 2004). A national resistance movement started in 1918, which was followed by the formation of the Turkish army, populated by the general public and led by Atatürk. After the army forced the Allies to leave the country, abolished the caliphate, and sent members of the Ottoman dynasty to exile, the Allies invited the new Turkish government for discussion which led to the Treaty of Lausanne (July 24, 1923), which fixed Turkey's borders (Encyclopædia Britannica, 2007g).

During the critical postwar period several reforms, called Kemalist Reforms, were made, focusing on a new perception of a nation based on the notion of "Turkishness," which included being rational, secular, westernized, and well-educated in positive sciences (Acar & Ayata, 2002; Büker, 2002; Kandiyoti, 2002; Zürcher, 2004). The set of ideals established in this period, including nationalism, secularism, republicanism, populism, statism, and reformism has been called the "Six Arrows" of "Kemalism" or "Atatürkism" (*Atatürkçülük*) (Zürcher, 2004).

The Kemalist Reforms, presented in Table 1 (Büker, 2002), marked the end of almost every aspect of Ottoman life and signified the beginning of Turkey as a nation separate from the empire (Mardin, 2002). For individuals, this identity switch involved changing from subjects of a cosmopolitan, multi-ethnic empire into citizens of a republic

focusing on its national pride (Mardin, 2002). It should be noted that during this great shift in identity, a big difference emerged between the Kemalists, the government, and the people (Büker, 2002). The Kemalists and the government lived a highly Europeanized lifestyle, in which they listened to classical Western music broadcasted by Radio Ankara, while the general public continued their daily lives as they had before and adjusted to new laws.

Table 1

The Kemalist Reforms

General Area	Description	Year
Government versus Religion	“Secularism”: The division of state and religion; the abolition of religious courts and schools, the adaptation of a completely secular system of law	1924
Style of clothes	European-style clothes were adopted; for example, the hat replaced the <i>fez</i> which had started representing backwardness	1925
Calendar	the European calendar was adopted	1925
Clock	the European clock was adopted	1925
Civil Code	the Swiss civil code was adopted	1925
Penal Code	the Italian penal code was adopted	1925
Commercial Law	the German Commercial Law was adopted	1925
The alphabet	the Latin alphabet replaced the Arabic alphabet	1928
Numerals	Western numerals were adopted	1928
Weights, measures	Western weights and measures were adopted	1931
Women’s Rights	women’s rights as equal citizens were established; women gained the right to vote and be elected	1934
Names	family names were adopted	1934

In order to understand Turkey then and socio-political issues continuing today, it is important to point out the different meanings assigned to terms “Turk” and “nationalism.” Although “*milliyetçilik*” is often translated as nationalism, it focuses more on patriotism than nationalism, and the word “*millet*” (nation) includes the different Islamic elements of Anatolia, such as Turks, Kurds, Circassians, Arabs, and Lazes (Ahmad, 2003). In 1920, it was decided that the term “Turk” (*Türk*) would refer to the citizens of Turkey, independent of ethnicity, and in fact, independent of religion, as Ottoman Jews are also considered as Turks. This notion was a continuation from the Ottoman Empire, which focused on the dynasty, and not ethnicity or religion. As long as they were loyal to the Ottoman Empire, minorities were Ottoman citizens who could exercise their own traditions and were granted total freedom of religion, education, language, and regulation of civil status (Ahmad, 2003; Oral, 2006a). On the other hand, pan-Turkists, who were likely influenced by the fascist regimes in Europe, supported a notion of “nationalism” focusing on ethnicity, linguistics, and dogma (Ahmad, 2003). This tendency led to radical nationalism in the 1960s.

Atatürk, whose ideal was a “New Turkey” defined as a “Republic of Culture” (Halman, 2006, p. 6), emphasized the role of art in the foundation of a nation and often stated that the basis of the Turkish republic was its culture (Oral, 2006a). His attitude towards art was reflected in educational reforms as well. After consultations with prominent European musicians, the State Conservatories Law was established (1934) stating two main fields of study: the musical field (composition, orchestra leadership, and playing various instruments) and the performance field (opera, theater, and ballet)

(Ali, 1983). Conservatories, which were co-educational, aimed at harmonizing Western art and Turkish art (Ilyasoglu, 1998; Oral, Kaufman, & Sexton, 2004).

After 1923, writers became directly involved with the government. Several prominent Turkish literary figures, such as Reşat Nuri Güntekin (1889-1956), Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu (1889-1974), and Halide Edip Adivar (1882 –1964), became members of the Turkish Parliament or bureaucrats (Özcan, 2004). Writers continued their involvement with the government until the 1950s (Özcan, 2004).

1938-1949. In 1945, after World War II, Stalin posed a threat to Turkey's territorial integrity by demanding some land, which brought Turkey closer to Western countries and led to anti-communist tendencies (Zurcher, 2004). President İnönü started making plans towards a more democratic regime and supported the establishment of the Democratic Party, the communist Turkish Social Workers and Peasants' Party (*Türkiye Sosyalist Emekçi ve Köylü Partisi*), and the Republican Nation Party (*Cumhuriyetçi Millet Partisi*), the third of which was closed in 1953 because of its use of religion (Zurcher, 2004).

During the 1920s and 30s, Atatürk and his colleagues supported the founding of various parties, all of which were shut down over the years because of various political arguments and protestation (Ersel et al., 2005a). Despite the efforts of Atatürk and his colleagues to establish a multi-party regime since 1924, the first free elections were not held until 1950 (Ersel et al., 2005a).

1950-1959. This decade was marked with Turkey's military and political integration with the Western alliance and increasing financial dependence on the United

States (Zurcher, 2004). Turkey, which joined the NATO in 1953, continued its evolution into a capitalist country where negative feelings for communism increased (Köksal, 2001). In the elections of 1950, the modernizing ideals of the People's Republican Party were replaced by the populist ideals of the Democratic Party, the traditional liberals, emphasized, and exploited, the gap between the elite and the people (Büker, 2002; Mango, 2004). The new government gave priority to the villager and the farmer, imported and sold farm machinery on credit, and offered easy credit. It connected villages to cities by constructing highways, which also led to the beginning of the mass migration from the rural to the urban in the 1950s (Büker, 2002). Villagers from Anatolia settled in shanty towns in and around big cities, such as Istanbul and Ankara (Ahmad, 2003).

In this decade two shifts in literature took place. From the beginning of the Republic until the 1950s, numerous writers had been active within the government as members of the Turkish Parliament or bureaucrats (Özcan, 2004). However, in this decade, writers distanced themselves from governmental roles and remained politically active through their written work. In addition to this, novels depicting the problems and harsh realities in Anatolia (rural areas in Turkey) and the poor conditions in which villagers lived became prominent, leading to the genre of the "Village Novels" (Halman, 2006). Writers of "Village Novels" were often born and raised in poor villages. The genre's leading writer was Yaşar Kemal (b. 1923), who also lived in a village as a child (Halman, 2006). The Village Novel reached its peak with the first volume of Kemal's *Ince Memed (Memed, My Hawk)* published in 1955.

Meanwhile, heated debates existed between the Republican Party and the Democratic Party, the latter of which started using religious sentiments and described the Republicans as communists or unbelievers, causing increasing nationwide unrest (Büker, 2002). The political debates were reflected in the community, as two opposing camps of thought emerged: The right (traditionalist and rightist) who focused on national history, state tradition, Ottoman heritage, and/ or Muslim culture and the left (or modernists and leftists) who were Marxists, communists, socialists, or social democrats (Köksal, 2001). National turmoil along with the religious tendencies of the Democratic Party led to the coup of 1960 (Zurcher, 2004).

1960-1970. The military coup was received with public joy in Istanbul and Ankara, especially among large student populations and intellectuals, while the rest of the country was without response (Zurcher, 2004). The coup gave power to the National Unity Committee (*Milli Birlik Komitesi*) whose members abolished the Democratic Party and charged 601 party members with corruption and treason, 464 of whom were found guilty (Encyclopædia Britannica, 2007h).

On the other hand, the military wanted to restore democracy. They changed the constitution to make it much more liberal, which led to the emergence of movements that greatly varied and different parties such as the Justice Party (*Adalet Partisi*). The new version of the constitution, however, also allowed political interference by the military (Zurcher, 2004). In 1961, free elections were held and a coalition government was formed with the Justice Party and the People's Republican Party. The Justice Party won the following elections in 1965 and 1969.

Starting from the early 1960s, literature became increasingly politicized as writers became representatives of various political camps opposing the government (Özcan, 2004). Several writers were involved in politics along with leftist intellectuals. Writers' works were confiscated and withdrawn from publication, regardless of whether they were politically active or not (Ellen, 1989).

The decade was filled with national turmoil, as conflicts rose between university students and intellectuals with leftist tendencies and the religious right which was becoming more prominent (Zurcher, 2004). The students who supported leftist ideals have been called the “generation of '68” (*'68 kuşağı*), who were born in the late 1940 and early 1950s (Başkal, 2003).

In addition to this, radical nationalism emerged when Alpaslan Türkeş (1917-1997), an army officer who was one of the leaders of the 1960 coup, formed the Nationalist Action Party (*Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi*). Members of the party, who called themselves “Grey Wolves” (*Bozkurtlar*), had received paramilitary training and started threatening and murdering anyone who they thought were leftists, including students, teachers, and journalists (Zurcher, 2004). They supported the idea that the terms “Turk” and “nation” should be exclusive, focusing on ethnicity and linguistics (Ahmad, 2003). Meanwhile, what has been called the “Kurdish Question” emerged, as the people living in the eastern regions of Turkey, who were, and still are, mostly Kurdish, demanded more cultural freedom and greater economical and industrial development (Ahmad, 2003). Increasing social and political unrest prompted the military to give the government an ultimatum, which functioned as a coup, in 1971.

1971-1979. The ultimatum, was, in practice, a coup that led to the government's resignation (Ahmad, 2003; Zurcher, 2004). Although at first some supporters of the left were content, thinking that the memorandum would protect them from the extreme right, they soon discovered that the military was against leftist ideologies as well. The military wanted to "restore law and order" which meant crushing leftist groups (Ahmad, 2003). They arrested approximately 5,000 intellectuals, including professors and journalists, who were seen as a part of the communist threat (Zurcher, 2004). Although this period consisted of great repression, the military had witnessed the damage that the military junta caused in Greece in 1967 and thus wanted to re-establish democracy. Thus, there were free elections in 1973 won by the People's Republican Party (Ersel et al., 2005b).

Writers were among those who were arrested by the military as a part of the communist threat (Zurcher, 2004). Literature remained politically charged and writers' works were confiscated and withdrawn from publication, regardless of whether the writers were politically active or not (Ellen, 1989). Several novels, called "the 12 March Novels," focusing on socio-political issues and military coups were published (Ağaoğlu, 2005; Günay-Erkol, 2006).

Meanwhile, turmoil continued as the worldwide economic crisis of the decade caused further social instability and political extremism in Turkey (Zurcher, 2004). Political violence became a big problem as conflicts between extremist leftists and rightists increased. The economy got worse which led millions to migrate to Europe as industrial workers. The Islamic Revolution of 1979 in Iran encouraged Islamic groups in Turkey to do mass demonstrations (Zurcher, 2004). This decade was marked by the

people of “the generation of 78” (*'78 kuşağı*), who were born in the late 1950s, early 1960s and got involved in political activities and student demonstrations (Başkal, 2003).

1980-1990. The country’s situation got worse as crime increased tremendously: In January 1980, the death toll was 2,000; by August it had risen to 10,000 (Ersel et al., 2005b). Because the government did not show any progress despite the military’s ultimatum of January 1980, the military, which was supported by the United States government, took over again in September 1980 (Zurcher, 2004).

The military’s oppression was acute. It was not only suspected militants who were hunted down, but also teachers, journalists, and politically active university students (Saktanber, 2002; Zurcher, 2004). Thirty thousand people were arrested by the end of 1980 and 122,600 by the end of 1981. Even after the coup was abolished, thousands of leftist student leaders remained in prison: By September 1982, 80,000 were still in prison, 30,000 awaited trial, and over 100,000 people had been tortured (Zurcher, 2004, p. 279). All of these events severed the ties between Turkish youth and politics (Saktanber, 2002; Zurcher, 2004).

Novelists and poets were prosecuted along with numerous others (Saktanber, 2002; Zurcher, 2004). New causes of regulation and censorship emerged sporadically; for example, in the late 1980s, depictions of sexual acts which had not been problematic before were labeled as pornographic (*mühtheçen*) and thus seized from bookstores (Ellen, 1989). Probably because of the prosecution, censorship, and the strict control of the military, writers became less politically active and literature started focusing less on socio-political issues (Özcan, 2004).

However, many writers continued to stand up against the government and voiced their opinions. For example, in 1984, 1300 people signed the “Petition of the Intellectuals” (*Aydınlar Dilekçesi*) (Dilekçe, 1984) which demanded that torture and inhumane conditions in prisons be terminated and that opinion and art be free from censor. This petition led to further interrogations, imprisonments, and even the denial of passports for about two thousand intellectuals (Ellen, 1989).

The military introduced a new economic policy and revised the former liberal constitution into a more restrictive one (White, 2002). It increased the powers of the president and the military, while limiting rights of individuals and the freedom of the press and trade unionists (Zurcher, 2004). Martial law continued until the partially free general election (the junta made restrictions) in 1983 which was won by the Motherland Party (*Anavatan Partisi*).

The new government brought new economic liberalization which led to foreign investments, the promotion of domestic export industries, the privatization of industry, and the establishment of a customs union with Europe (Durakbaşa & Cindoğlu, 2002). These changes opened Turkey up to the world economically, socially, and culturally. All of these developments led to a growing gap between the rich and the poor (White, 2002). Prices, unemployment, and inflation increased tremendously. A new culture of learning emerged in universities, where the favorite topics became economics, marketing, and business administration (Navaro-Yashin, 2002). As consumerism spread, making money was prioritized and financial success was advertised as the most important value (Navaro-Yashin, 2002).

The 1980s brought the “Kurdish Question” to another level, after the military passed a law forbidding the official use of any language other than Turkish (Ahmad, 2003). This law was not aligned with the Republic’s nationalist ideal, which focused on patriotism, and not ethnicity, religion, or language (Ahmad, 2003). The Prime Minister Özal tried to eliminate this law and pointed out how he, like several parliament members and former prime ministers, was Kurdish. In 1984, the PKK (the Workers’ Party of Kurdistan), which demanded a part of the land to make it Kurdistan, began attacks in Southeastern Turkey (Ahmad, 2003). These issues led people to debate about the two meanings of “Turk;” one which referred to Turkish citizens, regardless of ethnicity, religion, and language, and the other which focused on Turkish ethnicity (pan-Turkism).

1991-2000. The 1990s were dominated by the “politics of identity” that had appeared in the 1980s (Köksal, 2001). The “politics of identity” included a stronger emphasis on Islamic views and various views of nationalism, an example of which was the Turkish-Islamic synthesis of nationalism. Turkish-Islamic nationalism focused on a combination of pre-Islamic and Islamic cultures of Turks, in contrast to the Republican (*Cumhuriyetçi*) nationalism, which is based on citizenship regardless of ethnicity, religion, and language, and emphasizes Westernization and secularization (Ahmad, 2003; Köksal, 2001). Turkish-Islamic nationalism as well as other ideological trends in society were reflected in politics in the 1990s, especially with several political shifts in the elections of 1991, 1995, 1999, and 2002.

The 1990s brought several sources of tension within the country, the major two of which were the increasing attacks of the PKK and the activities of the religious

Welfare Party (*Refah Partisi*). A combination of guerilla warfare and terrorism, the PKK's attacks increased with the support of Kurds who lived in Northern Iraq (Ahmad, 2003). While politicians tried to emphasize meaning of Turkish as citizen of the country regardless of ethnicity, pointing out that Kurds were one of 26 ethnic groups living in Turkey, the military and the extreme right escalated the conflict (Ahmad, 2003). In 1999, the leader of the PKK, Abdullah Öcalan, was captured and sentenced to a life sentence. The government has taken action to amend the law that that forbade the official use of any other language but Turkish and now private courses are allowed as well as publications, but there is still a friction between the demand of education in Kurdish and the establishment.

The tension between the religious Welfare Party and the military peaked in 1997 and Turkey came close to a military coup once again. On February 28th, 1997 the military gave the head of the party, Erbakan, an ultimatum which led to the ultimate shut down of the party (Zurcher, 2004). Erbakan went to trial and the WP deputies founded the Virtue Party (*Fazilet Partisi*), which was later banned in 2001 for using religion for political purposes.

Various events exposed the unofficial affiliation between units of the government and criminal organizations, also called the mafia, known in Turkey as the "deep state" (Ahmad, 2003). Although it had been a well-known secret that was often brought up in the press, it became publicly known in the 1990s. Although the public became fully aware of the collaboration between the government and criminals, nothing was done (Ahmad, 2003).

2001-2008. One of the deputies of the religious Welfare Party, Tayyip Erdoğan, founded the Justice and Development Party (JDP) (shortly called *AK Partisi*, *AKP*). Following the enormous economic and financial crises in 2001 and 2002, the JDP won the elections in 2002 and was elected a second time in 2007. Erdoğan was someone who resonated with the people: He was a charismatic leader with a working class background and he had been very successful and popular as the mayor of Istanbul between 1994 and 1998 (Zurcher, 2004). It is important to note that the people chose JDP because they believed it could end poverty and corruption, not because they supported the party's underlying Islamic tendencies. One proof for this was the fact that the "real Islamic party" called the Happiness Party (*Saadet Partisi*) lost to JDP in Konya which was the former's heartland (Zurcher, 2004, p. 306).

While Erdoğan has been arguing that he is a reformed man in support of secularism, a section of the population and the military are not convinced. In the new millennium, there have been several incidents of tension between Erdoğan and the military, which emphasizes that the model of "soft Islamic-democratic state" cannot exist in Turkey and such a model would ultimately lead to an Islamic state. Political and social tensions have been present in the world media and continue today.

Currently, based on the 1982 constitution, there is a general election every five years, though there have been early elections every four years (Ersel, et. al., 2005a). Citizens 18 and over vote for parties or independent candidates, who must be over 30 years of age, and the parliament is formed with 550 members. The leading party, or a coalition of two or more parties, forms the cabinet. The leader of the leading party

usually becomes the prime minister, who is the head of the politics (Ersel, et. al., 2005a). The president, on the other hand, is the head of the state and responsible for protecting the basic principles of the regime, which are secularism and republicanism. The prime minister is elected by the people, while the president is elected by the parliament every seven years. In October 2007, a referendum was held which led to the election of Abdullah Gül, former foreign minister, as the president for the next seven years.

Currently the dual nature of the present-day Turkish culture, where the Western exists alongside the Turkish, has become obvious since the 1980s (Durakbaşı & Cindoğlu, 2002). The free market economy and globalization have resulted in a shift in Turkish perceptions and values (Karakitapoğlu-Aygün, 2004). Collectivism has been shifting towards individualism and traditionalism towards modernism, especially among the educated youth with urban upper-middle socio-economic backgrounds (Karakitapoğlu-Aygün, 2004).

Turkish Writers and Politics. As noted under the various time periods, the majority of the writers were persecuted by the military and the government throughout several decades, especially because of their socialist ideas. Turkish critical writings cite the writings of Karl Marx, G.B. Plekhanov, Jean-Paul Sartre, Lucien Goldmann, and Christopher Caudwell (Ellen, 1989). Many writers found socialist ideas to be the solution for social problems and numerous writers such as Sevgi Soysal (1936-1976), Orhan Kemal (1914–1970), and Yaşar Kemal (b. 1923) were persecuted because they were seen as a leftist threat at various points between late 1940s and late 1980s (Çakıroğlu & Yalçın, 2003). Another example is Aziz Nesin (1915-1995), the most

famous humorist and satirist in Turkish literature, who was imprisoned because of his leftist political views (Oral, Kaufman, & Sexton, 2004). He criticized social norms, cultural formation, politics, and economy through his witty stories. Although he was regarded as a cultural idol for reflecting the daily difficulties faced by the Turkish people, he was once the target of a firebomb, which, according to Oral, Kaufman, and Sexton (2004) indicates how different a successful writer's life can be in Turkey as opposed to a Western country.

Another example is poet Nazım Hikmet (1901-1963) who is known as the first modern Turkish poet, who became renowned worldwide and has been acclaimed as one of the most important poets of the 20th century (Halman, 2006; Turan, 2002). Hikmet was imprisoned several times because he was a Marxist (Turan, 2002). In 1922 he went to Moscow where he learned Russian, translated literature from Russian to Turkish, and learned about communism and the Russian Revolution (Turan, 2002). Upon returning to Turkey in 1924, he was arrested for writing in a leftist magazine. In 1926 he escaped to Russia where he continued writing and returned to Turkey in 1928 because of a general amnesty. However, he was constantly watched by the secret police and for the next ten years he was imprisoned on and off for a number of baseless charges (Turan, 2002). In 1938 he was arrested for “leading a military rebellion” and his works were banned. He was sent to prison for 12 years, during which he wrote some of his most beautiful love poems and letters. In 1949 in Paris, a committee which included Pablo Picasso, Paul Robeson, and Jean Paul Sartre was formed for his release. Although he was set free because of the new elections, he continued being prosecuted. He was drafted, despite

being 50, which was a plot to either get him killed in the army or to have him flee. He went to Moscow and in 1951 he was deprived of his Turkish citizenship. From then on, he traveled all around the world and his works were translated and published in numerous countries. In 1963, he died of a heart attack in Russia (Turan, 2002). In 1965, the ban on his poems, novels, plays, and letters was abolished. Although much debated, the reinstating of his citizenship has not taken place.

One major obstacle for free speech has also been the Penal Code Article 159, which was modified and established as the Penal Code Article 301 in 2005. These two penal code articles state that “those who publicly insult or deride the moral character of Turkishness, the Republic, the Turkish Parliament” will be punished (Hale, 2003, p. 111). Several journalists and writers have gone to trial for “insulting Turkishness”—while some have received warnings, none have been imprisoned. Prominent writers who have been prosecuted include Elif Safak (b. 1971) and Nobel-laureate Orhan Pamuk (b. 1952).

Gender Issues in Turkish Society

The Ottoman Empire provided several legal and financial rights for women that Western women did not have, such as the right to own property, the right to divorce, the right to sue, and the right to represent themselves in court (Belge, 2005; Faroghi, 1998). In spite of this, the Ottoman society was still male-dominated. Education for women became a prominent social issue in the 1850s, during which educational reforms led to the establishment of numerous schools for girls. For example, elementary school became mandatory for both boys and girls in 1876 and the first high school for girls was

established in 1858 in Istanbul, where there were 13 high schools for boys (Karaca, 2006). In 1865, the first art school for girls and in 1870, the first teachers' school for girls were established (teacher schools were like high schools, but graduates could teach elementary school). In 1875 numerous high schools for girls were founded around the empire, while in Istanbul, the American High School for Girls started classes (Karaca, 2006).

After the turn of the century, various women's journals, such as *Demet*, *Mefharet* and *Mehasin* started being published and drew attention to women's issues in society (Karaca, 2006). They promoted the liberation of women and told women to educate themselves and be active within society (Ahmad, 2003). In 1909, the Women's Development Association (*Teali-i Nisvan*) was formed and in 1911, feminist conferences started being held in Istanbul. In 1918, the Modern Women's Association (*Asri Kadın Cemiyeti*) was founded. Women participated in the Independence War by working as nurses and had an important role in the founding of the Republic (Ahmad, 2003).

The first major change for women in society after the founding of the Republic was the educational reform of 1924, which established a uniform, modern education system that held girls and boys equal in schools (Acar & Ayata, 2002; Ilyasoglu, 1998). Women gained equal rights in divorce, inheritance, and property in 1926 and gained the right to vote in 1934. Women's problems in society were brought into the spotlight by various feminist groups in the 1970s, the most prominent of which was the Association of Progressive Women (*Ilerici Kadınlar Derneği*) founded in 1975 (Koçali, 2002). The association, consisting only of women, emphasized that women should work and not be

financially dependent on men and demanded longer maternity leaves and childcare at workplaces. After the military coup of 1980, however, the association, along with all others, was shut down, and some leaders of the association were imprisoned having been accused of connection with the Communist Party of Turkey (TKP), which had been declared illegal (Ersel, Kuyas, Oktay, & Tuncay, 2005c).

In spite of women's rights in the Ottoman society, the rapid modernization after 1923, and women's politically active stance (i.e., having a female Prime Minister, Tansu Çiller, elected in 1993), Turkey is still a male-dominated, patriarchal society. Even today there is a large gap between the educated and uneducated, the urban and the rural, regarding the roles of women.

Turkish Women in Creative Fields. While historically, women were most active in literature as poets and in weaving and sewing, after 1923, women were prominent in every creative domain (Faroghi, 1998; Levey, 1975). An important female figure in creative artistic domains was Halide Edip Adivar (1882–1964), the first renowned female writer and translator (Karaca, 2006). She was a feminist and a political activist who lived in Turkey, Britain, France, Egypt, Lebanon, and the United States and wrote both in Turkish and in English (Çakıroğlu & Yalçın, 2003). In 1909, she organized the first feminist society aiming at modernizing women's lives in the nation and promoting their rights (Karaca, 2006). She participated in the feminist conferences that began in 1911 in Istanbul. A Turkish nationalist, she had an active role in the liberation movement that led to the founding of the Republic. During the Independence War she fought at the front, helped fighting soldiers, and gave public speeches at rallies and

protests (Karaca, 2006). In 1928, she was invited to Colombia University and Delhi University as a visiting professor and in 1940 she became professor of English Literature at the Istanbul University. In 1950 she started the Turkish PEN Center and became a member of the Turkish parliament (Karaca, 2006). Thus, she is not just known as the first renowned female writer in Turkish history, but also as an avid political activist, feminist, and academic.

The Turkish Language

Nineteenth century researchers suggested that language had a prominent role in the building of a nation (Mardin, 2002). In order to understand the Turkish culture, it is important to have a general understanding of its language, which is the most basic level reflecting culture (Parekh, 2000).

Since Turks originated in the Ural-Altai region of Central Asia, Turkish is considered Uralo-Altaic, like other Turkic languages such as Chaghatai, Kirghiz, Uzbek, and Azeri (Halman, 1973). During the Seljuks, both Persian and Arabic, the two languages of the Islamic world, were spoken (Belge, 2005). Persian was the language of art, while Arabic, the language in the Koran, was the language of science. Before the forming of the Ottoman Empire, a Turkish mixed with Arabic and Persian was spoken in Anatolian tribes. The Ottomans did not make a decision about one official language; instead, their language developed as a mixture of Turkish, Persian, and Arabic, and used the Arabic alphabet (Belge, 2005). Although more words were adopted from Arabic than Turkish, the grammatical basis for the Ottoman language was Turkish grammar and the Arabic and Persian syntax did not impact Turkish syntax (Mardin, 2002). Arabic and

Persian were used for official documents until the 18th century during which Turkish started being included in official documentation (Belge, 2005; Faroqhi, 1998). In the 19th century, the laws of Islam were translated into Turkish, which marked the end of Arabic being the only language of the religion (Faroqhi, 1998).

The aristocracy and the elite used the cosmopolitan Ottoman language (made up of Turkish, Arabic, and Persian) while the people used Turkish, the folk vernacular (Mardin, 2002), which caused a huge gap between the levels of society (Faroqhi, 1998). Since learning the Ottoman language (also called old Turkish or Ottoman Turkish) was both difficult and time-consuming, only the aristocracy was literate while the people were not (Kılıçoğlu, Aras, & Devrim, 1972). In fact, in 1923, only 8% of the people could read or write (Külebi, 1983).

After the founding of the Turkish Republic (1923), one of the several reforms pertained to the alphabet: the Arabic alphabet was replaced with the Latin alphabet, which was more suitable to Turkish phonetics, in order to spread literacy among the people and modernize the country (Kılıçoğlu, Aras, & Devrim, 1972; Külebi, 1983). Linguists worked for two years (1927-1928) on this transformation and created the new Turkish alphabet. The “Alphabet Reform” was declared to the public on August 9th, 1928 and was accepted as a law on November 1st, 1928, after which it was taught in schools (Kılıçoğlu, Aras, & Devrim, 1972). In addition to this, in 1930 Atatürk led the movement called “the purification of Turkish” which included replacing Arabic and Persian words with Turkish ones (Külebi, 1983). First, words used in Anatolia by the community, which had not been favored by the ruling elite and aristocracy, were

adopted. Second, new derivatives of Turkish words, neologisms, were created; for example, Atatürk contributed by coining new terms in geometry (Külebi, 1983). Thus, “pure” Turkish, vernacular and colloquial Turkish, became the main spoken language in every part of life, including literary, scientific, and official (Mardin, 2002). It was most probably the most difficult of all the reforms, especially for those who were already literate, since they had to re-learn to read and write (Halman, 2006; İnönü, 1998). Atatürk personally traveled the country and attended schools to promote and teach the new alphabet (İnönü, 1998).

This reform was based on the new nationalist ideology and the desire to cut ties with the Ottoman past. The advantages of the reform included the elimination of the big gap between the language used by the people and by the elite and the adaption of words from Turkish spoken in Anatolia, the heartland of Turkey. Its disadvantage was, however, that certain nuances, idioms, and the wealth of the Ottoman Turkish were lost during this process (Külebi, 1983). Today, although “pure” Turkish is mainly used, there is an endeavor to regain certain words and idioms from the Ottoman Turkish.

The Turkish alphabet is similar to the English alphabet, however, it does not include the letters “w” and “x” and has the letters, “ç” (*ch* of *chin*), “ğ” (makes preceding vowels longer), “ı” (the second vowel of *portable*), “ö (like *bird*), “ş” (*sh* of *shine*), and “ü” (same as in German, or *tu* in French) (Halman, 2006). Today, various forms of Turkish are spoken in various Turkic republics such as Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, and Azerbaijan as well as Turkish minorities who live in

Balkan countries such as Bosnia, Croatia, Kosova, Albania, and some parts of Bulgaria and Greece (Oral, 2006a).

The Novel in Turkish Literature

Two genres of literature dominated the Turkish literary world after 1923: poetry and short story. After the founding of the Republic, poets who had become known during the Ottoman Empire continued being popular (Faroqhi, 1998; Halman, 2006). Prominent poets include Abddülhak Hamit Tarhan (1852-1937), and Yahya Kemal (Beyatlı) (1884–1958) (Necatigil, 2006). In addition to this, short stories became popular after the turn of the century and remained greatly popular in Turkish literature since then (Ellen, 1989). Writers who brought short stories to the forefront include Ömer Seyfettin (1884-1920) and Sait Faik Abasıyanık (1906-1954) (Necatigil, 2006).

Unlike Western societies, the novel only became popular in the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century. Halid Ziya Uşaklıgil (1867-1945) is considered the father of the modern Turkish novel. His most famous novel, *Forbidden Love (Aşk-ı Memnu)* (1900) not only depicts a tragic love story, but also the clash of the old, traditional Turkish culture and the new, modern, Westernized Turkish culture (Ersel, Kuyas, Oktay, & Tuncay, 2005b). Novels after the founding of the Republic focused on various themes such as conflicts between urban intellectual and poor peasants and the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire (Halman, 2006). Prominent novelists include Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu (1889-1974) and Halide Edip Adıvar (1882 –1964). Adıvar, who was the first acclaimed female writer, feminist and political activist, has been renowned for

representing the “new” Turkish novel on her own between 1908 and 1920 (Necatigil, 2006; Tanpınar, 1998).

Unlike Western societies, the novel never reached the status of the main genre of Turkish literature, lagging behind poetry and the short story (Akşin, 1981; Ellen, 1989). Thus, since the 1920s, self-examination has caused critics and writers to ask why the Turkish novel has not excelled or become known worldwide. For example, in 1936, writer Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar wrote several articles on the Turkish novel and why it has not become a more prominent genre of literature in Turkey (Tanpınar, 1998). Acclaimed writer and critic, Fethi Naci (b. 1927), has famously asked “Are there novels in Turkey?” (*“Türkiye’de roman var mı?”*) (Akşin, 1981). Some suggest that the genre of the novel could not develop in Turkish history since the unpopularity of prose led to the Ottomans’ disinterest in writing letters or keeping diaries, as indicated in historical archives (Akşin, 1981). Others suggest that the reason lies under the change of the alphabet and the adoption of “pure Turkish” words replacing Arabic and Persian ones, which created issues for writers (Ellen, 1989). Regarding the lack of international recognition of Turkish novels, a possible explanation is the difficulty in translating Turkish, which can be called “a formidable language handicap” (Ellen, 1989, p. 14). The fact that the Nobel Prize in Literature (2006) was awarded to Orhan Pamuk may be a turning point for international recognition of the Turkish novel.

Summary

Creativity research has focused on three general areas: creative individuals, the creative process, and socio-cultural factors that influence creativity (Csikszentmihalyi,

1990; Ryhammar & Brolin, 1999). As the literature suggests, most of the studies on creativity have been conducted in Western countries. Since findings are often not universal because of the various differences between Western and non-Western societies, it is important to develop creativity research in the latter. Turkey, a country caught between the West and the non-West, has recently been recognized as a rich context for creativity research. In order to be able to fully appreciate findings of research conducted in this context, it is important to have an understanding of different socio-cultural factors that have most probably influenced creative Turkish individuals. These socio-cultural factors include education, socio-political events in recent history, gender, and language. This chapter provided information on the mentioned subjects and has prepared the context for the current study which is further explained in Chapter III.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this chapter is to present the methodology of the study, including the research design, participants, data sources, procedures, data analysis, and data presentation. Validation and the researcher orientation are also presented.

This study investigates the socio-cultural factors that impacted the lives of highly creative writers, specifically novelists, in Turkey. The main research questions were:

1. How do highly creative Turkish writers define creativity?
2. How do highly creative Turkish writers describe creative processes and products?
3. How do different factors related to Turkish culture and society (education, social factors, political factors, historical events, gender, age) impact (help or hinder) the development of the creativity of highly creative Turkish writers?

Research Design

In order to gain an in-depth understanding of the experiences and opinions of the participants and the way in which socio-cultural factors influenced their creativity, the qualitative case study method was used. The goals of qualitative research, which uses an inductive mode of analysis, include understanding, generating descriptions, discovering meaning, generating hypotheses, and understanding human experience from a personal point of view (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998; Merriam, 1998). Qualitative research does not seek to generalize theories, but usually focuses on a single or a small number of cases to understand those particular cases only. Case study research is a qualitative approach that

uses one or more bounded systems (cases) and involves in-depth data collection (Stake, 1995). The focus can be either the case or an issue that is illustrated by a case or cases. A case is a bounded system and might be an event, a process, a program, or a person. This study is a collective (or multiple) case study, in which there is one focus and multiple cases are used to illustrate the issue (Stake, 1995). The focus of the study is the impact of socio-cultural factors in Turkey on the development of creativity and the cases are the participants. Interviews with the participants shed light onto the focus of the study. While researchers have conducted qualitative in-depth case studies on highly creative individuals (e.g., Gardner, 1993; Gruber, 1981; Torrance, 2004), they primarily have based their studies on Western societies.

Participants (Cases)

Purposeful sampling strategy was used for this study. Purposeful sampling includes the selection of individuals (cases) who can provide understanding and information for the research questions (Creswell, 2007). Thus, only writers who met certain criteria were selected, since they have the necessary qualities and life experience to address the research questions.

The participants included novelists who fit the definition of a “highly creative person.” They have invented, designed, and produced creative work regularly and their work has influenced Turkish literature as indicated by (a) the frequency in which they are referenced in the Turkish press (newspapers, magazines, online resources), (b) the way they are mentioned in the Turkish press (acclaimed as highly creative writers), (c) award or awards they have received, and (d) their active stance as a creative writer, such

as conducting writing workshops. Sources for this information included books written on Turkish literature and articles written about the writers, as well as other documents pertaining to Turkish literature and writers. In addition to this, since the study focused on socio-cultural factors in Turkey, participants were Turkish citizens who had lived 75% of their lives in Turkey and had received all of their education in Turkey.

Typically, multiple case studies include no more than four or five cases, since the more cases that are studied, the less in-depth analysis each case receives (Creswell, 2007). In addition to this, researchers usually include a large number of cases so that their results are generalizable, which is not the purpose of qualitative research (Creswell, 2007). This study includes four cases (i.e., participants). In order to investigate the impact of sex, gender roles, different generations and ages, additional criteria were added to the purposeful sampling. Two of the participants were to be between the ages of 50-57, one male and one female, while two would be 80 or over, one male and one female. I targeted these two age groups for two reasons. First, different age groups could provide different views on the same subject. Second, the younger group (born between 1950-1957) and the older group (born in or before 1927) were at different points of their lives during three major political events that potentially would impact writers: the military coup of 1960, the ultimatum of 1971, and the coup of 1980. The younger participants were children during the first coup, teenagers during the ultimatum, and young adults during the second coup. On the other hand, the older participants were at least 33 years old by the time the first coup took place. Thus, this variety in age groups

was necessary to investigate the impact of Turkish society and culture during different historical eras, as older individuals would have experienced more of Turkish history.

For the initial identification of novelists, I gathered information from books on Turkish literature and various websites. I identified individuals who fit the criteria presented above, categorizing them by the four age and gender groups (males between 50 and 57 years old, females between 50 and 57 years old, males 80 years old or older, females 80 years old or older). Since the criteria were pretty narrow, there were not a large number of individuals in each category. The prioritized list of individuals with information is provided in Appendix B.

There were various reasons for the prioritization, the main one being the characteristics revealed in biographical and professional information about the writers. In the elder group, Yaşar Kemal was at the top of the list for male writers and Adalet Ağaoğlu was at the top of the list of female writers since they exhibited more of the criteria outlined in the previous section. First nominated for the Nobel Prize for Literature in the 1960s (Halman, 1977), Yaşar Kemal is one of the few Turkish writers who has had world-wide acclaim. Kemal, with 26 awards and four honorary doctorates (Çakıroğlu & Yalçın, 2003; Halman, 1970; Halman, 2006), is the leading figure of the genre of the “Village Novel” (Halman, 1970; Halman, 2006). Adalet Ağaoğlu, who is also an internationally acclaimed Turkish writer with 12 awards and two honorary doctorates, is known for her contributions to the modernization of the Turkish novel (e.g., Gümüş, 2007).

Since the younger group of writers had not had time to accrue the awards associated with the older group of writers, slightly different criteria were added for the younger group. In the younger group, Mario Levi was at the top of the list for male writers and Latife Tekin was at the top of the list of female writers. The reason for this was that these two writers brought new perspectives to Turkish literature using their backgrounds and personal experiences and these new perspectives focus on parts of Turkish society that had been underrepresented in literature. While Levi's work represents the Turkish-Jewish community (Gürsel, 2002), Tekin's work represents villagers and thousands of families who live in poverty after migrating from villages to big cities (Çakıroğlu & Yalçın, 2003).

Tekin has used her personal experiences to depict the lives and the cultures of villagers living in slums in and around big cities, since her family also lived in such slums after migrating to Istanbul (Altınel, 1993; Çakıroğlu & Yalçın, 2003). In fact, her family was a part of the mass migration from villages to big cities, especially Istanbul, that began in the 1950s and reached its peak in the 1960s and 1970s (Büker, 2002). Although families migrated in hopes of work and a better life, most of them could not find work and were faced with poverty, which led to the large area of slums in and around Istanbul (Büker, 2002). As a novelist, Tekin has focused on these people who have been trapped between the rural and the urban. In addition to this, Tekin also brought Magic Realism, which uses metaphorical prose and elements of fantasy, into Turkish literature (Books And Arts, 2001; Kalfus, 1993).

Levi, on the other hand, brought a new perspective to Turkish literature by presenting the lives of a minority in Turkey: The Turkish-Jewish community, who had not been represented in literature before (Gürsel, 2002; Karadoğan, 1999). His literary approach is greatly based on his identity as a member of the Jewish community in Turkey (Gürsel, 2002).

I obtained the phone numbers from the Turkish center of the International PEN (Poets, Essayists, Novelists) Writers' organization. I contacted the four writers with a telephone call and used the Turkish version of a telephone solicitation script that stated who I was and the purpose of my study (Appendix C). If Kemal, Ağaoğlu, Tekin, and Levi had not participated in the study, I would have contacted the other individuals on the list. However, all four of the individuals agreed to participate. Thus, the four participants/cases of this study are Yaşar Kemal (b. 1923), Adalet Ağaoğlu (b. 1927), Mario Levi (b. 1957), and Latife Tekin (b. 1957). Although some brief information on each writer is presented here and in Table 2, detailed information is provided in Chapter IV, under sections pertaining to the individuals.

Yaşar Kemal

A novelist, journalist, and folklorist, Yaşar Kemal was nominated for the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1962 (Andaç, 2003; Halman, 1977) and continues to be a nominee. His most famous novel, *Ince Memed* (*Memed, My Hawk*) with 4 volumes, has been translated into over 40 languages; his other novels have also been translated into several languages and printed in several countries (Halman, 1970; Halman, 2006). An

avid socialist, he has been politically active from an early age and has been persecuted by the government (Bosquet & Kemal, 1992/1999).

Adalet Ağaoğlu

Adalet Ağaoğlu is a novelist, story-writer, playwright, and translator, whose novels have been translated into various languages including English, French, Dutch, and German (Çakıroğlu & Yalçın, 2003). A feminist and socialist, she is known for her modernization of the Turkish novel (Gümüş, 2007).

Table 2

Participants/Cases

Participant	Year of Birth	Gender	No. of Works	Award/s
Yaşar Kemal	1923	Male	26 novels 2 storybooks 9 books of experimental work 4 books of interviews 1 children's book	26
Adalet Ağaoğlu	1927	Female	8 novels 10 plays 4 storybooks 4 books of essays 1 book of dreams 4 memoirs	12
Mario Levi	1957	Male	3 storybooks 2 novels 1 monograph 1 book of reviews and speeches	2
Latife Tekin	1957	Female	7 novels 1 storybook 1 filmscript	2

Mario Levi

Mario Levi is an acclaimed storywriter and novelist who has focused mostly on minorities living in Istanbul and their personal and social issues (Çakıroğlu & Yalçın, 2003). He has won the 1990 Haldun Taner Story Award and the 2000 Yunus Nadi Novel Award. He has been holding various creative writing workshops and he has led the creative writing program at the MIM Art Center (*MIM Sanat Atolyesi*) since 2005 (<http://www.mimsanat.org/>).

Latife Tekin

Latife Tekin is an acclaimed novelist and storywriter who is known for her unique style, use of magic realism, and use of language (Books And Arts, 2001; Çakıroğlu & Yalçın, 2003; Kalfus, 1993). Some of her novels have been published in England, the United States, Italy, France, Germany, Sweden, and Holland (Çakıroğlu & Yalçın, 2003). She is also a political activist, specifically for women's rights. She is one of the main founders and managers of the Gümüşlük Academy Foundation, a camp-like site dedicated to the collaboration of those interested in arts, philosophy, sciences, and the environment (www.gumuslukakademisi.org).

Data Sources

Interviews and documents, two sources that are often used in case study research, were included as data sources (Creswell, 2007; Merriam, 1998). I conducted semi-structured interviews with the Turkish translation of an interview guide. The interview guide consisted of three questions and Table 3 demonstrates how each question directly relates to the research questions. Follow-up probes investigated the specific topics under

research question three (education, social factors, political factors, historical events, gender, age) if information had not already been provided. I pursued contradictions, statements that sounded guarded, incomplete answers, and unfamiliar words or phrases with follow-up questions for further clarification (Rubin & Rubin, 1995). The interview questions were broad and open-ended, aimed at stimulating conversation.

As a form of memberchecking, after the participants answered one of my questions, I summarized their answer to make sure what I had heard matched what they wanted to convey. In addition to this, I conducted a follow-up interview with each participant via telephone calls for clarification of uncertainties (see Table 4).

The second data source consisted of existing documents regarding the participants, both in English and Turkish. The documents included: (a) articles published in newspapers and journals between the birth date of the participants and the present; (b) reviews of the participants' work published in newspapers, journals, or books, and included in online resources, between the birth date of the participants and the present; (c) written, audiotaped, or videotaped interviews with the participants; and (d) biographies of the participants if available. Lists of references consulted for each participant are presented in Appendix D.

Table 3

Interview Guide

Research Question	Interview Question
1. How do highly creative Turkish writers define creativity?	1. How would you describe creativity?
2. How do highly creative Turkish writers describe creative processes and products?	2. How do you view creative processes and products?
3. How do different factors related to Turkish culture and society (education, social factors, political factors, historical events, gender, age) impact (help or hinder) the development of the creativity of highly creative Turkish writer?	3. What impacted the development of your creativity?

Table 4

Follow-Up Interview Information

Participant	Date	Start Time	End Time
Yaşar Kemal	September 9, 2007	9.30 am	10.00 am
Adalet Ağaoğlu	September 9, 2007	1.00 pm	1.30 pm
Mario Levi	January 4, 2008	9.00 am	9.45 am
Latife Tekin	November 3, 2007	10.00 am	11.00 am

Procedures

Initially, (as noted in the section above) I contacted the participants by phone call in June 2007. In order to set up a specific interview date, they indicated that they would prefer it if I would call them the day after my arrival in Turkey (June 24, 2007). During the month of June, I sought, located, and analyzed documents pertaining to the

participants. I conducted most of my research online and at the Texas A&M University's library.

I contacted the participants again after my arrival in Turkey and set up meeting times. I conducted and audiotaped three of the interviews in Istanbul and one interview in Gümüşlük between June 23, 2007 and July 22, 2007 in the native language, Turkish. The interviews took place at the participants' houses and lasted between one and two hours. After returning to the United States on July 23, 2007, I transcribed and analyzed the interviews. I initially transcribed the interviews as they were (in Turkish) and later translated them into English. Having been raised bilingual, I am equally comfortable with both English and Turkish. When difficulties in translation arose, however, I consulted peers who were fluent in both English and Turkish. If there were phrases or expressions that were untranslatable, I provided the original expression in the text and a description and explanation of its meaning. In order to clarify questions that came up during or after the interviews, I conducted a follow-up interview with each participant via telephone calls (see Table 4). During the telephone calls, I typed on the computer as the participants spoke in order to record their exact words.

Data Analysis

Analysis in case studies consists of "making a detailed description of the case and its setting" (Creswell, 2007, p. 163). In this study, the setting includes Turkey, with its culture and history, the specific locations where they have lived, and the actual interview setting. Since the study is set in one country, its description is especially important. Chapter II presented basic information regarding the history of the Ottoman

Empire and the Republic of Turkey with an emphasis on Turkish literature and writers. In each section pertaining to the writers under Chapter IV, information on the participants' lives, on the locations where they have lived, and on the interview setting is provided.

Data analysis focused on two data sources, the documents and the interviews. The use of documents had three main aims. The first aim was to secure the participants' place in this study, making sure they matched each category. The second aim was to gather extensive information about the participants' lives and creative works. The third aim was to compare already printed material with this study's data. In general, the analysis of the documents consisted of reading and summarizing the information, which I present when necessary in the sections for each participant in Chapter IV. Former interviews with the participants were especially useful in comparison with my interviews. During the analysis of the interviews, as categories emerged and events were emphasized I collected additional documents which I translated into English.

The theoretical orientation of the study is the grounded theory approach (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) which emphasizes being engrossed in the data and utilizes an inductive strategy of theory development, or emergent design (Lincoln & Guba, 1985), in which patterns emerge from the data, rather than being predetermined (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Observing patterns within the data and developing a systematic way of classifying or coding them is the first step of analysis (Patton, 2002).

The interviews, which were the main sources of data, were analyzed in two steps that are typically used in multiple case study analysis: within-case analyses, followed by

a cross-case analysis (Creswell, 2007). The data were analyzed using the constant comparative method that was first described by Glaser and Strauss (1967) and later modified by Lincoln and Guba (1985). This method includes four steps: (a) comparing incidents that pertain to categories that emerge from the data, (b) integrating categories, and (c) delimiting the theory, and (d) writing the theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Under the third step, delimiting the theory, the data is reduced by the development of a theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) which accounts for a relevant pattern of behavior in relation to those involved (Strauss, 2003). Throughout the analysis, although the researcher allows categories to emerge from the data, she also develops hypotheses, which are suggested by the interviewees and which present relations among themes or categories (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

Pointing out that Glaser and Straus (1967) had not provided an operational definition for the term “incident,” Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggested that the term refers to a “unit of information” (p. 344). An incident, which is “the smallest piece of information about something that can stand by itself” (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 345), could be a simple factual sentence or a paragraph.

During the within-case analyses, where each case, each individual interview, was the focus, the first step of the constant comparative method was used by combining incidents that “apparently relate to the same content” (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 347) which led to the formation of categories. In the second step, new instances were compared with the instances under already established categories.

The within-case analyses were followed by a cross-case analysis, including correspondence between categories that emerged from different cases (Creswell, 2007). The cross-case analysis included the third and fourth steps of the constant comparative method. The third step, delimiting the theory, includes the development of a theory which is the goal of the grounded theory approach.

In order to deconstruct the interview text and be able to isolate incidents (interviewees' comments) according to a specific topic or subject, an element of analysis, called "stanza," was borrowed from Gee (2002) who focused on discourse analysis. A stanza can be described as a continuation of sentences, or a block of quotes, that contain incidents that fall under a certain category (Gee, 2002). The number of sentences in each stanza is irrelevant; what is interesting is that the stanzas indicate the number of times an interviewee goes back to a category. Thus, each category has a number of stanzas associated with it.

For example, in Yaşar Kemal's interview a category that emerged was *influential people* in 11 stanzas, which means he makes comments that fall under this category in 11 stanzas. For example, when he talks about an influential person, that counts as one stanza. When he switches to another topic that falls under another category, that block of quote counts as a stanza under that category. When he starts talking about another person who had an impact on him, that is an incident that goes under the category *influential people* and that block of quote is counted as the second stanza under that category.

Data Presentation

Analyses of the interviews are presented in Chapters IV, V, and VI. Chapter IV presents the within-case analyses, while Chapter V presents the cross-case analysis. Chapter IV consists of four sections, where each section focuses on each participant. Sections begin with detailed information about the participant and the description of the interview. Sections continue with the within-case analysis, including explanations of categories with examples of incidents (comments), the number of repeated incidents, and hypotheses generated by me when applicable. Chapter V presents the cross-case analysis, where categories that emerged from the interviews are compared and commonalities across cases are identified (Creswell, 2007). In addition to this, findings are compared with former research. Chapter VI presents the overarching themes that contribute to the theory and conclusions. In Chapters V and VI, interview data from other sources on the participants are distinguished from the current interview by the use of citations.

Validation

Qualitative researchers have suggested that traditional quantitative approaches to validation cannot be applied to qualitative research, since their purposes differ (Creswell, 2007; Merriam, 1998; Stake, 1995). Qualitative research does not seek to generalize theories, but usually focuses on a single or a small number of cases to understand those particular cases only (Merriam, 1998). While there are numerous types of qualitative validation, four methods are used often: triangulation, peer review, explanation of researcher stance, and provision of rich and thick description (Creswell, 2007).

Triangulation

In triangulation, different sources are used for evidence and for information on categories or perspectives. According to Stake (1995), triangulation can be used for confirmation of the researcher's interpretation or increased credibility in the interpretation. For this purpose, published documents about the participants, as well as other interviews conducted with the participants, were used. Other interviews were crucial for data source triangulation, which involves the observation of whether participants (cases) remain the same in other spaces or at other times (Stake, 1995).

Peer Review

The second method of qualitative validation, peer review, is often used as an "external check of the research process" (Creswell, 2007, p. 208). My advisor and an expert researcher in qualitative analysis provided peer review. The expert researcher has worked on several qualitative studies, including four NSF proposals either as part of, or leading the qualitative research team. She has used qualitative evaluation methods for a diversity program here at Texas A&M University and has been asked as an outside consultant to conduct evaluations using focus groups and qualitative methods. As there are no specific guidelines for the peer review process (Lincoln & Guba, 1985), the expert researcher, and I decided to conduct each meeting as we saw fit (see Table 5). For some meetings she reviewed the interview beforehand and for some she did not, but in every meeting she provided feedback and criticism on my analysis, gave suggestions, provided different points of view, and answered questions.

Table 5

Peer Review Meetings

Date	Time	Duration
September 6, 2007	2.00 pm	1 hour
September 19, 2007	1.30 pm	1 hour
October 4, 2007	1.00 pm	1 hour
November 10, 2007	2.00 pm	1 hour
December 1, 2007	3.00 pm	1 hour
January 16, 2008	1.30 pm	1 hour

Regarding difficulties during the translation process (for example, the expression in Turkish may mean two separate things in English), I consulted peers who are fluent in both languages. I compared my translation of certain phrases with theirs and received aid regarding the meaning of some words when necessary, which was not very frequent, however, since I am equally fluent in Turkish and English (see following section).

Explanation of Researcher Stance

The third method of qualitative validation is the explanation of researcher stance. Since qualitative research involves the direct participation of researchers and includes their interpretations, it is important that readers understand the perspective of the researchers (Creswell, 2007). Researchers can present factors that may have impacted the study by illustrating their personal feelings, thoughts, and orientations about issues related to the case. Thus, I describe my stance in relation to the study in the following section.

Rich and Thick Description

The fourth method of qualitative validation, rich and thick description, allows the readers to decide whether the information can be transferred to other settings (Creswell, 2007). Thus, I describe the participant and the interview setting in detail under the sections in Chapter IV.

Research Orientation

Since my parents and I have lived abroad for several years, I consider myself a citizen of the world. My father studied in the United States during his senior year of high school with the exchange program AFS (American Field Service) and my mother lived in England for approximately two years and in the United States for approximately four years. Between 1982 and 1986, my father taught English at the Saudi-American company, Aramco, where I went to kindergarten and learned English. After that I spent several summers in England, studied in Germany and the United States, and lived in Brazil for a year.

After saying all this, I must also add that although being a citizen of the world, I cannot deny a special love for my country. I am proud of my family heritage, which goes back till the 17th century; I am proud of certain aspects of the Ottoman Empire; and I have a special admiration for Atatürk, like almost all Turkish citizens would. On the other hand, I do not want to live in Turkey: I realize its flaws, such as several traditional ideologies that do not fit me, my family members, or close friends. Recent political developments are also quite troubling. As a result, although I do not want to live there, I

love to visit and have to have Istanbul, along with my family and friends, as a big part of my life.

Thus, I approach this study as an exploration of a truly unique history and culture, which I am highly intrigued by. In addition to all this, my father, Tarık Günersel, is a poet (e.g., Günersel, 2006), as well as a playwright (e.g., Günersel, 2004), who works as a dramaturge at the Istanbul City Theater, and my mother Füsün Günersel has translated numerous plays, which have been staged, into Turkish. Thus, exploring the lives of Turkish artists has also been “close to home.” I am proud of the novelists I have interviewed who are a part of both the richness of world literature and the wealth that makes up Turkish literature. On the other hand, I realize the difficulties they as artists, like many others, have been through throughout Turkish history. This study has not just been an addition to the creativity literature, it has also enriched my understanding of the history that has included my family line.

Summary

In order to gain an in-depth understanding of the participants’ experiences and opinions and the way in which socio-cultural factors influenced their creativity, the qualitative case study method was used. Two sources that are often used in case study research, interviews and documents, were included as data sources (Creswell, 2007; Merriam, 1998). The participants, or cases, who were selected with the purposeful sampling strategy were Yaşar Kemal (b. 1923), Adalet Ağaoğlu (b. 1927), Mario Levi (b. 1957), and Latife Tekin (b. 1957). Semi-structured interviews were conducted and audiotaped in Turkey between June 23, 2007 and July 22, 2007 in the native language,

Turkish. Data analysis consisted of the analysis of the two data sources, the interviews and the documents. During the analysis of the interviews, within-case analyses and a cross-case analysis were conducted (Creswell, 2007). The theoretical orientation of the study was the grounded theory approach (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) and the constant comparative method of analysis was applied (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Triangulation, peer review, an explanation of researcher stance, and the provision of rich and thick description were the four types of qualitative validation that were used (Creswell, 2007).

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS: WITHIN-CASE ANALYSIS

Chapter IV consists of four sections pertaining to each participant. Each section includes:

1. General information about the participant, including literary style, and a list of creative products and awards,
2. Biographical information including information on the locations where they have lived,
3. Description of the interview and the interview setting,
4. Presentation of within-case analysis including (a) a table containing the categories, brief information about the categories, and the number of stanzas pertaining to the categories, (b) explanation of the categories with examples of incidents (comments) under each category (incidents that were repeated more than once are presented with the number of repetition), and comparisons with former interviews and other documents.

Section 1: Yaşar Kemal

Kurdish-Turkish writer Yaşar Kemal, who is known as the leading figure of the genre of the “Village Novel” (Halman, 1970; Halman, 2006), is a novelist, journalist, and folklorist (Çakıroğlu & Yalçın, 2003). While critics have compared Kemal with Tolstoy, Hardy, Steinbeck, and Faulkner, his wish has been to attain the spirit of the Homeric epic (Halman, 1983). Indeed, it has been noted that some of his novels truly go beyond the frame of a typical novel and are indeed epics (Boratav, 1980). He was nominated for the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1962, before any other Turkish, Arab, or Iranian author (Andaç, 2003; Halman, 1977). He has also been successful as a journalist and has been politically active from an early age (Çakıroğlu & Yalçın, 2003).

Kemal is internationally recognized, especially acclaimed in France, where he has been defined as an “epic writer,” England, the United States, and Scandinavia (Bosquet & Kemal, 1992/1999; Naci, 1993). The four volumes of his most famous novel *Ince Memed (Memed, My Hawk)* have been translated into over 40 languages (Halman, 1970; Halman, 2006). Several other novels have also been translated and printed in various countries and some have been adopted as theater plays and scenarios, such as Peter Ustinov’s film of *Memed, My Hawk* in 1984 (Bosquet & Kemal, 1992/1999).

Kemal’s stories and novels focus on the lives of Anatolian villagers who are nomadic or settled. His themes include blood feud, revenge, love, and daily hardships faced by villagers. He often describes the difficulties that villagers dealt with in the 1950s with growing capitalism: Villagers had emerged from an agricultural era and they found themselves in the modern age of mechanization where everything changed

(Bosquet & Kemal, 1992/1999; Köksal, 2001). Most of Kemal's novels take place in and around his home, Çukurova. In his most famous novel, *Memed, My Hawk*, Kemal presents the bandit (*eşkiya*) Memed who defends villagers' rights against the injustice imposed by greedy landowners. The novel has been referred to as a Turkish Robin Hood story (Halman, 1970) and has been described as presenting "the universal social theme...protest of peasantry who are firmly bound to the soil, and whose world view and entire life span are defined within patriarchal limits" (Al'kaeva, 1980, p. 69).

His extensive creative products include two story books—*Sarı Sıcak (Yellow Heat, 1952)* and *Bütün Hikâyeler (Collected Short Stories, 1967)*—and a children's book, *Filler Sultanı ile Kırmızı Sakallı Topal Karınca (The Sultan of the Elephants and the Red-Bearded Lane Ant, 1977; Andaç, 2003)*. However, the bulk of his work consists of numerous novels, experimental works, and collected interviews, presented in Table 6 (Andaç, 2003).

Table 6

Kemal's Creative Products

Novels:	
Title	Publication Year
Teneke (The Drumming-Out/ The Tin Pan)	1955
İnce Memed (Memed, My Hawk), Volume 1	1955
Dağın Öte Yüzü 1: Orta Direk (The Other Side of The Mountain 1: The Wind from the Plain)	1960
Dağın Öte Yüzü 2: Yer Demir Gök Bakır (The Other Side of The Mountain 2: Iron Earth, Copper Sky)	1963
Üç Anadolu Efsanesi (Three Anatolian Legends)	1967
Dağın Öte Yüzü 3: Ölmez Otu (The Other Side of The Mountain 3: The Undying Grass)	1968
İnce Memed (Memed, My Hawk/ They Burn the Thistles), Volume 2	1969
Ağrı Dağı Efsanesi (The Legend of Mount Ararat)	1970
Binboğalar Efsanesi (The Legend of the Thousand Bulls)	1971
Çakırcalı Efe (The Bandit Çakırcalı)	1972
Akçasazın Ağaları 1: Demirciler Çarşısı Cinayeti (The Lords of Akçasaz 1: Murder in the Ironsmith's Market)	1973
Akçasazın Ağaları 2: Yusufçuk Yusuf (The Lords of Akçasaz Trilogy 2: Yusuf, Little Yusuf)	1975
Yılanı Öldürseler (To Crush the Serpent)	1976
Al Gözüm Seyreyle Salih (The Saga of a Seagull)	1976
Allahın Askerleri (God's Soldiers)	1978
Kuşlar da Gitti (The Birds Have Also Gone)	1978
Deniz Küstü (The Sea-Crossed Fisherman)	1978
Kimsecik 1: Yağmurcuk Kuşu (Little Nobody 1: The Bird of Rain)	1980
Hüyükteki Nar Ağacı (The pomegranate on the Knoll)	1982
İnce Memed, (Memed, My Hawk), Volume 3	1984
Kimsecik 2: Kale Kapısı (Little Nobody 2: The Castle Gate)	1985
İnce Memed, (Memed, My Hawk), Volume 4	1987
Kimsecik 3: Kanın Sesi (Little Nobody 3: The Sound of Blood)	1991
Bir Ada Hikayesi 1: Fırat Suyu Kan Akıyor Baksana (An Island Story 1: Look, the Fırat River is Flowing with Blood)	1998
Bir Ada Hikayesi 2: Karıncanın Su İçtiği (An Island Story 2: Ant Drinking Water)	2002
Bir Ada Hikayesi 3: Tanyeri Horozları (An Island Story 3: The Cocks of Dawn)	2002

Table 6, Continued

Experimental Works:	
Title	Publication Year
Ağıtlar (Ballads)	1943
Taş Çatlasa (At Most)	1961
Baldaki Tuz (The Salt in the Honey: 1959-74 newspaper articles)	1974
Gökyüzü Mavi Kaldı (The Sky Remained Blue; with Sabahattin Eyüboğlu)	1978
Ağacın Çürüğü (The Rotten Tree: Articles and speeches compiled by Alpay Kabacalı)	1980
Yayımlanmamış 10 Ağıt (10 Unpublished Ballads)	1985
Ustadır Arı (The Bee is a Master)	1995
Zulmün Artsın (Increase your Oppression)	1995
Sarı Defterdekiler (Contents of The Yellow Notebook: Collected folkloric works; prepared by Alpay Kabacalı)	1997
Collected Interviews:	
Title	Publication Year
Yanan Ormanlarda Elli Gün (Fifty Days in Burning Forests)	1955
Çukurova Yana Yana	1955
Bu Diyar Baştanbaşa (This Land From Top to Bottom)	1971
Bir Bulut Kaynıyor (A Cloud Is Boiling)	1974
Peribacaları (The Fairy Chimneys)	1985
Denizler Kurudu (The Seas Have Dried Up)	1985
Nuh'un Gemisi (Noah's Ark)	1985

He has won 26 national and international awards. National awards include the Varlık Novel Prize (1956), the 1966 İlhan İskender Award, and Orhan Kemal Novel Award (1986), while international awards include the Best Foreign Book Award in France (1978), the French “Big Jury” Best Book Award (1979), the International Cino Del Duca Award (1982), the French Legion d’Honneur Award (1984), the 1996

Mediterranean Foreign Book Award (Perpignan, France), the 8th Catalonia International Award in Barcelona (1996), Nonino Award in Italy (1997), and French Ministry of Culture Commandeur des Arts et des Lettres Rank (1998) (Çakıroğlu & Yalçın, 2003). Kemal has also been awarded Honorary Doctorates at four universities: the French University des Sciences Humaines in Strasbourg (1991), Antalya Mediterranean University (1992), Frei University in Berlin (1998), and Bilkent University (2002) (Çakıroğlu & Yalçın, 2003; *Yaşar Kemal: Biography*, n.d.).

Biographical Information

Yaşar Kemal was born Kemal Sadık Gökçeli in the village Hemite (now called Gökçeadam) (Bosquet & Kemal, 1992/1999; *Yaşar Kemal: Biography*, n.d.). According to official documentation he was born in 1926, which Kemal states is wrong: He estimates his year of birth as 1923 (Bosquet & Kemal, 1992/1999). Kemal experienced two traumatic events at a very young age. He lost one eye in an accident, and shortly after that, when he was four and a half years old, he witnessed his father's murder because of a family feud (Andaç, 2003; Bosquet & Kemal, 1992/1999; *Yaşar Kemal: Biography*, n.d.). Kemal's father had been a wealthy country gentleman, but after his death, Kemal's family lost their financial assets which left them in poverty.

As a child, Kemal was very interested in folklore and epics (Bosquet & Kemal, 1992/1999). He completed his first year of elementary school in another village (Burhanlı), after which his family moved to Kadirli, a town in Çukurova. He attended elementary school there, while working in fields and cotton mills in the evenings (Bosquet & Kemal, 1992/1999; Naci, 1993). He started middle school in Adana, where

he continued working in the evenings at a plant (Andaç, 2003). In the end of his third year in middle school, he failed the class and was thus expelled from school, after which he could not continue his education because of financial difficulties and started working (Andaç, 2003).

Meanwhile as a teenager, Kemal also grew interested in various social and political issues (Andaç, 2003; Bosquet & Kemal, 1992/1999). He became acquainted with socialist leaders who lived in Adana. He met prominent novelist Orhan Kemal (1914-1970) and read the poems of Nazım Hikmet (1901-1963) (Bosquet & Kemal, 1992/1999; Kışlalı, 1987).

Kemal published his first book, a collection of folklore, in 1943. In 1946, at the age of 23, he wrote his first short story *A Dirty Story (Pis Hikaye)* which he considers one of his best works (Bosquet & Kemal, 1992/1999). From his teenage years until the age of 28, he has had over 40 different jobs; for example, he worked as a cotton picker's clerk at a plantation, a clerk at a public library, a substitute teacher, a farm laborer, a guard, a tractor driver, a sign painter, a mechanic, a foreman in rice fields, and a factory worker (Bosquet & Kemal, 1992/1999; Çakıroğlu & Yalçın, 2003; *Yaşar Kemal: Biography*, n.d.).

In 1950, Kemal was accused of being a communist spy and was arrested for disseminating communist propaganda (Andaç, 2003). The police destroyed his most recent novel and imprisoned and tortured him for a few months (Bosquet & Kemal, 1992/1999). After his acquittal in 1951, he moved to Istanbul where he experienced a period of unemployment, financial difficulties, and "a kind of depression" (Bosquet &

Kemal, 1992/1999, p. 77). He then started writing for the Newspaper Cumhuriyet (*Republic*) (Bosquet & Kemal, 1992/1999). He changed his name and became well-known both as a journalist (the job he had for the longest period of time) and as a novelist. *Memed, My Hawk* was on the best-seller list in England. He married Thilda Serrero and had a son, Raşit Gökçeli, who is an architect (Bosquet & Kemal, 1992/1999). After the coup of 1960, he was among the hundreds who were taken to custody by the military regime (Ahmad, 2003).

In 1962, he entered the Workers' Party of Turkey (*Türkiye İşçi Partisi*) and became a member of the executive committee of the Central Committee and president of the Public Relations Commission for eight years (Bosquet & Kemal, 1992/1999; Kışlalı, 1987). That same year he was nominated for the Nobel Prize in Literature (Andaç, 2003). In 1963, the government put pressure on the owners of the newspaper who had to dismiss him, after which he focused on his career as a novelist (Bosquet & Kemal, 1992/1999).

Kemal has been prosecuted by the government numerous times mostly for supporting socialism. In 1967, he was arrested as the person in charge of the publishing house *Ant (Promise)* for the printing of the book, *The Main Book of Marxism*, but was acquitted (Andaç, 2003). After the ultimatum of 1971, which in practice was a coup, he and his wife were arrested; he was imprisoned for a month, and his wife, for four months (Andaç, 2003). In 1995, he was taken to court for “making separatist propaganda” in his article *Increase your Oppression (Zulmün Artsın)* that was printed in the journal *Der Spiegel* (Germany) (Andaç, 2003). Although he was acquitted, the following year, he

was sued again for “provoking the people to bear resentment and enmity” and “making separatist propaganda” and he was sentenced to a year and eight months in prison, which was delayed for five years. He appealed and was acquitted on the condition that he would not repeat his crime for the next eight years (Andaç, 2003).

In January 2001, he lost his wife Thilda (Andaç, 2003). He remarried Ayşe Semiha Baban in August 2002. Today, he lives with his wife in Istanbul.

Home Environments

Kemal’s home environment consists of his village, Hemite (now called Gökçeadam), and its location, the plains of Cilicia (called Çukurova). Çukurova, which lies between the *Ceyhan* (East) River and *Seyhan* (West) River, is between the Mediterranean and the Taurus Mountains, near Adana in South Anatolia (Southeastern Turkey) (Çakıroğlu & Yalçın, 2003). Three major cities are located in Çukurova: Adana, Tarsus, and Mersin. It is a rich and fertile area in terms of agriculture, especially cotton.

Kemal also lived in Adana for several years. Adana has been a prosperous city because of its location between the Anatolian-Arabian trade routes and on the Istanbul-Baghdad railway. One of Turkey’s centers of cotton industry, Adana manufactures cement, agricultural machinery, vegetable oils, and textiles. Çukurova University was established in Adana in 1973 (Encyclopædia Britannica, 2007a).

The Interview

On July 4, 2007, at noon, I arrived at the apartment building where Kemal and his wife have a flat. Kemal’s wife, Ms. Ayşe opened the door and announced my arrival to Mr. Kemal. He was sitting at his desk which was placed next to one of the large

windows in the living room presenting an amazing view of the Marmara Sea and the Bosphorus. The living room was large and resembled a museum with the walls decorated with beautiful paintings. There were shelves with books in various languages, including various classics and books written by Kemal and about Kemal. The shelves were also decorated with little figurines and Kemal's awards. Mr. Kemal had the newspaper in front of him, which he had obviously been reading. He, his wife, and I talked for a bit and they asked me more about what I was doing at Texas A&M University. After a few minutes, Ms. Ayşe said she would leave us alone to our work and left. Mr. Kemal was truly larger than life, not only regarding his physical presence—he is very tall man (over 6 feet)—but also his personality. His presence is powerful and he is full of energy and humor with a lot of laughter. One cannot help but notice his large-framed dark-colored glasses behind which his right eye is closed shut (as he lost it when he was a child). I was very nervous, because it was truly an honor to stand in front of someone who is legendary. It was not just his success and his amazing creative productivity, but also his life experience that was like a novel itself: A man who had befriended Arthur Miller, former French Prime Minister Francois Mitterrand, former Soviet President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, and legendary Turkish poet Nazım Hikmet. Our interview, which lasted a little more than an hour, went smoothly, with a few interruptions by either the phone ringing or his wife coming in for a question. He was very enthusiastic about the stories he was telling and it was obvious that he liked to share his stories. I found him very approachable, despite the wealth of his life experience. After the interview, he called his wife and said we were done. Ms. Ayşe said

that they were going to go to the pool and that they went often, which made me think, once again, that Mr. Kemal truly had a youthful spirit.

Data Analysis

This section provides explanations of categories with example incidents (quotes), inferences, and comparison with other data sources. The categories that emerged from the interview were *views related to creativity, Kemal's personality, influential people, the government, education (formal and informal), family, home environment, and the people (halk) and the people's language* (see Table 7). Although one category, *the relationship between a country's literature, writers, and socio-political issues*, did not emerge in our interview, it emerged in other interviews, and since it is closely related to this study, is included in the findings.

1. Views Related to Creativity

In our interview, Kemal presents how he views creativity in five stanzas, only one of which was prompted by me: (a) creativity is indescribable/unknown; (b) it has not been studied enough; (c) it is extremely important; and (d) it needs inherent talent, practice, and life experience. He emphasizes the importance of practice and life experience and notes that people are important for the flourishing of creativity. Indicating the importance of imagination, he talks about nature and its mysterious quality as a source of inspiration. In other interviews, he talked about how he stimulated his creative thinking (Bosquet & Kemal, 1992/1999) and how much he worked on his creative products (Andaç, 2003; Bosquet & Kemal, 1992/1999).

Table 7

Findings on Kemal

Category	Brief Information	Number of stanzas
1. Views related to creativity	Kemal explains how to develop creative skills and other factors related to creativity.	5*
2. Kemal's personality	Nine personality traits emerged.	16
3. Influential people	Seven people have been influential for Kemal's life and creativity.	11
4. Government	Kemal explains his aversion to the government and how the government interfered with his life.	6*
5. Education (formal and informal)	Kemal severely criticizes the current education system and makes a suggestion for the ideal system of education.	7*
6. Family	Kemal briefly talks about his uncle, mother, and father.	3
7. Home environment	Kemal's home environment, the people, and customs, greatly inspired his creativity.	5
8. The people (<i>halk</i>) and the people's language	The people, of whom he is a part, and their language inspired Kemal's creative productivity greatly.	8
9. The relationship between a country's literature, writers, and socio-political issues	Kemal indicates that literature and writers have a close relationship with socio-political issues in a country.	**

Notes. * Stanza is long and extensive.

** Indicated in other interviews.

Kemal summarizes his views on creativity at the very beginning of our interview: "Nobody can describe that (creativity)—they haven't been able to describe that." Noting that not enough attention has been paid to the field of creativity, he emphasizes the importance he places on creativity.

I think psychologists have not studied creativity enough... Creativity is the one thing that people should deal with/ work with. The thing that is amazing is the creativity of human beings... I mean we need to emphasize creativity the most.

Kemal indicates that creativity is the outcome of inherent talent (repeated twice), practice (repeated three times), and life experience (repeated three times). He emphasizes the importance of honing creative skills.

There is one thing I know: I'm pretty sure that there is a gene related to creativity that exists in humans—a creativity gene. But this creativity gene is not enough.... If you continue your creativity, your creativity will keep increasing.... (Creativity) doesn't happen all of a sudden... Your creativity strengthens with life experience/ as you live. Now when I write I am much better than I used to be... This I know, this business (of creativity) develops with time.

Kemal expressed these ideas in other interviews as well (e.g., Bosquet & Kemal, 1992/1999; Kışlalı, 1987). For example, in his interview with Kışlalı (1987), he said that in order for writers to become universal, they have to take on the role as the apprentice and learn from masters both from their own society and from other societies.

From his different comments about creativity, it appears that he sees creativity as something extremely special, almost magical. His very first response to my question on creativity is that “nobody could describe it” to which he adds later on, “I mean, ‘What is creativity?’ Creativity is what humans don't know.” Twice, he points out that “creativity is not easy” and that creativity is endless (“Like everything else, creating is also infinite,” and “Creativity is infinite in mankind”).

Kemal notes that people have an important role in the stimulation of creativity: “For folklore, poetry, and culture to exist somewhere—to be broad—the population

needs to be broad. In my folkloric years, I searched for secluded places. I went, I went, I went, there was nothing in secluded places. There's no material for folklore."

Kemal emphasizes the role of imagination in creativity once, noting that imagination is "Endless—it's hard to believe how much it is." In other interviews, Kemal elaborated upon imagination and its role in human life in more detail, suggesting that people create myths in order to cope with life (Bosquet & Kemal, 1992/1999; Naci, 1993).

In our interview and others (e.g., Bosquet & Kemal, 1992/1999; Naci, 1993), he has emphasized nature as a source of inspiration and has described it as alive and mysterious. For example, in his interview with Bosquet (e.g., Bosquet & Kemal, 1992/1999), he said that he "had a passion for observing nature" (p. 76) and "A piece of grass, the water pouring up from a spring, a butterfly on a leaf remaining motionless for hours—all were pure miracles for me" (Bosquet & Kemal, 1992/1999, p. 81). (The importance of nature and environmental setting is further discussed under the category, *home environment*.)

In other interviews (e.g., Andaç, 2003; Bosquet & Kemal, 1992/1999), Kemal talked about his creative process: "When I first began writing, I had to walk. I must have convinced myself in time that I couldn't write without walking. I have always walked to write" (Bosquet & Kemal, 1992/1999, p. 117). If he did not need to "reflect a great deal" he walked three kilometers (1.86 miles), if he needed to reflect more, he walked nine kilometers (Bosquet & Kemal, 1992/1999, p. 124). He also noted that he usually wrote while standing. He noted that in order to concentrate on his work, he had made an effort

to leave his house and go to a distant place (Bosquet & Kemal, 1992/1999). For example, he wrote most of his novels in Şile, a little port on the Black Sea just outside of Istanbul, where he stayed at a hotel and wrote all day (Bosquet & Kemal, 1992/1999).

Regarding his creative process, he also said that in order to create a final product, he did extensive work. In the beginning of his literary career, he worked on a novel for years, going through “crises” over the smallest details (Bosquet & Kemal, 1992/1999, p. 121). But because of time limitations, he trained himself to do fewer revisions of his work. He noted, however, that if he had time as he desired, he would like to “work over a single sentence for a few days in a row” (Bosquet & Kemal, 1992/1999, p. 121). He pointed out that he ponders on a topic for years and then starts writing on it (Andaç, 2003).

2. Kemal's Personality

Another category that emerged from the interview is Kemal's personality. Nine different personality traits appeared in his various stories and examples: (a) a belief that he's had great luck; (b) curiosity; (c) intelligence and creativity as a child; (d) persistence; (e) higher expectations for himself in relation to creativity; (f) sense of humor; (g) outspokenness; (h) rebelliousness; and (i) dedication to literature. The first four appeared once in the interview and the last one appeared at eight different points in the interview. The first two traits were explicitly stated by him, whereas the others were deduced by me from his stories. Information about Kemal's personality appeared in a total of 16 stanzas, none of which was prompted by me. He talked about his love for literature as a child, his ability to stand up to authority, the fact that he expected more

from himself creatively, and his curiosity in other interviews as well (e.g., Bosquet & Kemal, 1992/1999).

Kemal expresses his belief that he was a lucky person: “I’ve had great luck, above everything, my whole life passed with luck, to tell the truth.” He says that one of his characteristics that led him to learn, which in turn enhanced his creativity, was curiosity: “I was a journalist. I travelled all over Turkey for 12 years. There isn’t a city I haven’t visited... I was curious about everything. I was curious about people, I was curious about trees.” In his interview with Bosquet (Bosquet & Kemal, 1992/1999), he linked his desire to write to his curiosity, noting “My curiosity is limitless” (p. 81).

Kemal explains that as a child, he was called “Crazy Kemal” in his village because he was a highly unusual, creative child. For example, he developed an ingenious system in which he would cool down watermelons in the streams of the Savrun River and then offer it to people who were afflicted by the extreme heat. He talked about this event in his interview with Bosquet (Bosquet & Kemal, 1992/1999) as well, where he pointed out that, while the literal translation for “*deli*” is crazy, in Anatolia it also means “brave, generous, good” (p. 16). I see this whole story as an example of his intelligence and creativity as a child.

The story of when Kemal declared himself a Folk Poet (*Aşık*) is an example of his persistence. *Aşık* is a Folk Poet who wanders and plays the *saz* (a plucked string instrument, popular in Turkey, Azarbiajan, Armenia, Iran, and the Balkan countries) while reciting poetry (*aşık* also means “person in love”). When Kemal proclaimed himself a Folk Poet (*Aşık*) and started wandering to various villages he was only 16

years old. Although initially villagers saw him as a boy and refused his endeavours as a Folk Poet (“They didn’t even give me a lamentation”), he was not intimidated or disheartened; on the contrary, he said to himself, “I’ll show you who is an *Aşık*’.”

While the four personality traits mentioned thus far appeared once in the interview, the other five traits appeared more often. Kemal suggests in two instances that he had higher expectations for himself creatively, especially when he was young and at the beginning of his literary career (fifth trait). For example, when he finished the first volume of *Memed, My Hawk* (1955), he did not want to sign his name under it because he was not satisfied with it: “Actually, it was because I didn’t like (it)—I was waiting for *The Wind From the Plain*—that was in my head.” He did, however, end up signing his name under the novel which became his most acclaimed work.

Kemal demonstrates his sense of humor (sixth trait) twice. While talking about his youth, he says, “After meeting Şevket Usta—we’re communists, you know—we said, ‘You’re a good communist,’ (he said) ‘What the heck do you know?’—we didn’t know anything (Laughter).” He is making fun of himself as a young communist, which is not a light issue for him since he has been a self-declared “militant socialist, formed in Marxism” (Bosquet & Kemal, 1992/1999, p. 8).

Three of Kemal’s stories indicate that he is an outspoken person (seventh trait). For example, as an elementary-school student, he was very direct and open with his teacher.

The teacher kept asking, “Do you have shoes, do you have water, do you have this-that?” I kept saying, “I’m only going to come to school for three months, I’m

not going to tire you/ wear you out"... "My teacher, I won't bother you. I learn quickly. Anyway, I'm going to write my folksongs, that's why I'm learning this"... Three months passed, I said, "My teacher, I'm leaving now. I've learnt it. You can quiz me on it. Thank you for everything. Didn't I tell you I would learn it all in three months?"

Thus, even as a child he was able to not only go to an authority figure and tell him exactly what he wanted, but also go to him afterwards and say "I told you so."

The eighth trait that becomes apparent is Kemal's rebelliousness, which appeared three times. For example, as a child he stood up to his mother, who disdained Folk Poets and thought it unfit for Kemal, when she burnt the saz he had bought with his own money: "Well I'm going to be like Abdal-e- Zeyniki!" (a famous Folk Poet) "Why are you burning it?" In his interview with Bosquet (Bosquet & Kemal, 1992/1999), he talked about how he had stood up to his family and the village. In his interview with Kışlalı (1987), he pointed out the importance of rebellion: "One of the greatest values of human beings is rebellion. The rebellion of humans against nature, the rebellion of person against person, the rebellion of humans against tyranny."

The ninth trait, which appeared eight times, is probably Kemal's most important trait as a highly creative writer: extreme dedication to literature, specifically becoming a Folk Poet, even as a child. For example, when describing his village, he says,

Amazing epic story-tellers came to the village. I was enamoured. All the children slept, but I didn't, I listened (to them) until the morning... I studied folklore, I

was also writing poems, I was racing with Folk Poets (*Aşıklar*)... I'm only seven years old. I'm going to be a Folk Poet...

His dedication to this dream continued into his teenage years. When he was 15 or 16, he went to the Folk Poet Güzümen Ahmet and asked to be trained by him.

3. *Influential People*

This category, the first of seven related to socio-cultural factors, contains information on seven people who appeared in 11 stanzas, none of which were prompted by me. The influential people include (in the order in which mentioned) Mr. Cevat (editor-in-chief of the newspaper Cumhuriyet), a teacher from Cyprus who lent his house, Mehmet Ali Aybar (1908-1995) (president of the Workers' Party of Turkey), his Uncle Tahir, the Folk Poet Güzümen Ahmet, Arif Dino (1893-1957) (his mentor), and Nazım Hikmet (1901-1963) (poet and close friend). The two people whom Kemal talked about most extensively were Mr. Cevat and Nazım Hikmet, each brought up three times. Nazım Hikmet (1901-1963), who is known as the first modern Turkish poet, has been acclaimed as one of the most important poets of the 20th century worldwide (Halman, 2006; Turan, 2002). He was imprisoned several times because of his Marxist views (Turan, 2002). Although mentioned once, Kemal states Arif Dino's importance as his mentor.

The first person Kemal mentions is Mr. Cevat, the editor-in-chief of the newspaper Cumhuriyet where Kemal worked for 12 years. Mr. Cevat was influential to Kemal's literary career; for example, it was thanks to him that Kemal put his name under *Memed, My Hawk* when he did not want to: "I went to Mr. Cevat. He was very

saddened, ‘Why didn’t you put your name, my child? It would have been so good,’ he said... So what Mr. Cevat said happened... Yaşar put down his signature! (Laughter). That’s how it happened.”

Kemal makes the importance of his “amazing friendship” with Nazım Hikmet obvious by talking about it extensively. Calling him “our (Turkey’s) Pushkin,” Kemal indicates Hikmet’s influence on his creativity. He notes that he reads Hikmet’s books to “learn Turkish” and presents Hikmet and Stendhal (1783-1842) as “the two men I love most.” He expanded upon their friendship and Hikmet’s literary genius in other interviews as well (e.g., Andaç, 2003; Bosquet & Kemal, 1992/1999; Kışlalı, 1987).

Despite talking about his role as a mentor once, Kemal emphasizes Arif Dino’s importance in his life, which he pointed out in other interviews as well (Andaç, 2003; Bosquet & Kemal, 1992/1999): “Everyone has a teacher/mentor, Arif Dino is my mentor. I owe my everything to him. He was a great man. Amazingly cultured. The brother of Abidin Dino—a great poet. A great painter. An amazingly cultured man. There is no other man like him in Turkey” (Dino’s greatest influence on Kemal is explored under the category, *education*).

Another person who impacted Kemal, specifically his creative productivity, is Mehmet Ali Aybar, the president of the Workers’ Party, who encouraged him and showed great interest in his work. For example, when Kemal was planning to re-write *The Wind from the Plain* (1960), Aybar persuaded him not to, thus having a direct impact on one of his most important novels.

He said, “Look, Yaşar, I should have more experience in life than you. I’m older than you are... Come on, don’t write it a second time. Make corrections and leave it at that. Instead of re-writing it, write another book.” And I listened to his word. If it hadn’t been for Aybar, it truly wouldn’t have happened.

Another influential person was a teacher from Cyprus who let Kemal stay in his house for six months while he was gone. This had an impact on Kemal’s life, because the teacher had numerous records which Kemal listened to and learned classical music from. Kemal presents this event as an example of how lucky he has been throughout his life.

I kept listening constantly, I didn’t understand anything—until I heard Beethoven, then I understood a lot! (Laughter). No one knew (about him) then...meanwhile I was listening to one of the greatest (musicians) on earth... I ate a little but took the needle... The needle—since the gramophone was playing! (Laughter) All day and all night I was playing it (Laughter).”

The Folk Poet (*Aşık*) Güzmen Ahmet was also an important person in Kemal’s life, as he trained Kemal to be a Folk Poet. At the age of 15 or 16, when he told the poet he wanted to travel with him to be trained, he accepted it: “I was educated by him by travelling village by village... I listened to him, then later I started telling (epics).” Güzmen Ahmet is also included under the category *education*.

The last influential person Kemal mentions is his paternal uncle, Tahir. Although he does not directly talk about his influence, his stories suggest that his uncle had influence on his life in general and his creative productivity. His uncle provided for him

and his family: “My uncle took me to Osmaniye, bought me clothes, shoes, whatever. He also gave me money... He bought several notebooks and several pencils.” Kemal also used some of his memories of his uncle in his novels.

If he was sad, angry, or nostalgic/had a longing, he would sit on a chair at home and start singing folk songs in Kurdish... My uncle had a very beautiful voice...

He sang amazing Kurdish folk songs, “foreign-land” folk songs, he would tell me all of it. I wrote of all this in my novels.

In his interview with Bosquet (Bosquet & Kemal, 1992/1999), he noted that after his father’s death, his mother married his uncle.

In his interview with Bosquet (Bosquet & Kemal, 1992/1999), Kemal said that his first wife, Thilda Serrero, was very supportive: “For her part, Thilda was always at my side; she always supported me and withstood my poverty courageously” (p. 79). In our interview, he mentions her in passing with praise (“...I came home, my wife Thilda—you know my great translator...”).

4. Government

Kemal talks about the various ways in which the government interfered with his life in six elaborate stanzas, three of which are in response to my questions. Kemal’s strong aversion to the government, which he has expressed in other interviews as well (e.g., Kışlalı, 1987), becomes obvious when he talks about the government’s interference with writers’ lives. He notes that pressure from the government definitely had a negative impact on the quantity and quality of his work. Although in our interview, he refers to his leftist views three times in a joking manner, Kemal has been quite passionate about

his political stance, as he has indicated in other interviews (Bosquet & Kemal, 1992/1999; İpekçi, 1971; Naci, 1993).

The one example of government interference Kemal gives most often (four times) is the prevention of his books' publication. For example, he points out that because he had already been established as a leftist ex-convict, the government was "very angry" when he won awards for his novels and did not allow publishers to print them: "They (Varlık Publishing House) were going to publish the book, they didn't. They (the government) put so much pressure on them... *nobody* printed *Memed, My Hawk* for a year." Later he returns to this topic and expresses his astonishment at the government's intimidation of publishing houses, noting, "Now you'll understand what it means to be a writer in Turkey." He talks about his experience with a publisher.

I sent them (stories) to Yaşar Nabi—the biggest publisher. He said, "I can't print these. I can't print them politically (because of political reasons)" and he sent them back to me. "You've written amazing stories," he said, "it's amazing. Hopefully one day we can publish them." But because of politics.

Calling the government "a liar," Kemal expresses his strong emotions against the government twice. When I ask about the impact of socio-political issues on creativity in Turkey, he replies, "Well it is tyranny, the situation in Turkey. The things that are done to artists—especially novelists—in Turkey is a horrendous tyranny." He presents a metaphor for Turkish writers, which he wrote as a story that appeared in Spanish, French, and Turkish literary journals:

In Central Anatolia, in the winter, wolves which go hungry attack the barns...

(The villagers) catch one wolf. They don't touch it... They take it and hang a bell on his neck. They leave it. (The wolf) can't come close to anything. It can't come close to other wolves or the villagers (Laughter). This is how it happens. I said, they turned all the writers in Turkey into wolves with bells.

He adds that he lived in Sweden for three years because he was unsafe in Turkey: "I ran away from here so they wouldn't kill me." Kemal expressed his strong aversion to the government in other interviews as well (Andaç, 2003; Kışlalı, 1987).

Later, he notes that if it had not been for the government interference, he could have written more and better. As an example, he notes that he had to work and make a living for 12 years, during which he wrote only two-and-a-half novels. On the other hand, when he was able to devote his time to writing, in 10 years he wrote 14 novels. This account is ironic, however, because the reason for his leaving his job after 12 years was the government, which had him let him go. Thus, although he expresses his frustration with this incident, it was precisely that which led him to devote his time to writing. So, what was then a negative event turned out to be positive for his creativity in the long run.

Although in our interview, Kemal mentions his political views three times in a joking manner, Kemal has emphasized the importance of his socialist views in other interviews (e.g., Bosquet & Kemal, 1992/1999; İpekçi, 1971; Naci, 1993). For example, he said,

I am militant socialist, formed in Marxism. I say this in a very general sense, for I have never allowed myself to be enclosed in any strict mold... I have always struggled against the dogma built on Marx's name. (Bosquet & Kemal, 1992/1999, p. 8)

5. Education

Kemal's comments related to education can be grouped into two: formal education, which he strongly opposes, and informal education, which was provided by his mentor, Arif Dino. He criticizes the education system as it is around the world and suggests that education should take place through working and studying, producing, and creating. He talks about the rector of the Istanbul University whose lack of respect upset him greatly and compares him to the rector of the University of Oslo. He comments on formal education in five stanzas, two of which were prompted by me, and informal education in two stanzas without my prompt.

When asked about the impact of education on the development of his creativity, Kemal tells the story of how he learned what writing was from a tradesman. He realized that he could keep track of his poems through writing and thus, he decided to attend elementary school for one year. He notes that the only positive factor related to formal education was that it enabled him to read and write. He fondly talks about his elementary school teacher, the only person he mentions related to his formal education, emphasizing his concern for his wellbeing: "The teacher kept asking, 'Do you have shoes, do you have water, do you have this-that?'" He did not continue his formal education after middle school.

Kemal notes that he realized how bad education was during his approximately-two-year experience as a substitute teacher at an elementary school. He makes his aversion towards education obvious.

They come to high school, there's another trouble/ predicament, in university there's another kind of trouble/ predicament. This is not education—this is an education of insult. They (schools, educators) are tyrannizing. What kind of a school is this?! They start with a funnel. They put things in their heads with a funnel. Then they (students) just forget it all. I mean, there can never be peace in the education system.

He criticizes the treatment of children and youngsters, noting that they are not treated as people. Calling Children's Literature "disgusting," he makes it obvious that he feels strongly about this issue. Kemal grew up in an atmosphere that was liberating for children; there was no distinction between adults and children regarding literature (Bosquet & Kemal, 1992/1999), which may be a reason for his strong sentiments.

Kemal also presents his idea of the correct educational system:

The education I think of is different. It was implemented in Village Institutes to some degree... Now, Marx says this: education through *producing*. He said, education through working/studying and producing. I have one more thing (to that): education through working/studying, producing, and creating. And leaving people completely free—not enslaving people. People who are slaves try to create more slaves... there should be such education for all humanity. Education through creating and producing.

He notes that there have been some advances in education in Sweden and the United States.

Kemal then turns to how he was educated by his mentor, Arif Dino, and compares his informal education to formal education.

I didn't study pedagogy. I went to Adana. Everyone has a teacher/mentor, Arif Dino is my mentor. I owe my everything to him... When I give speeches I boast about it: You've come out of universities, I came out of the university of Arif Dino. Who are their universities next to Arif Dino... When I came to Istanbul, there were the students of a great professor, many great professors. They knew Homer, but didn't know who wrote *the Iliad*, but I knew it all by heart (Laughter)... That's why I'm against this education.

Kemal also experienced another form of informal education as a teenager, when he was trained by the Folk Poet Gdmen Ahmet. Kemal learned about the art of Folk-Poetry by becoming a Folk Poet's apprentice and watching him perform his art. In his interview with Kışlalı (1987), Kemal pointed out the importance of mentorship and training, stating that writers need to take on the role as the apprentice and learn from masters both from their own society and from other societies.

Overall, Kemal's comments are directed towards education around the world and not specifically Turkish education. However, he does make a contrast between education in Turkey and education in another country, which, although not related to what is taught in educational institutions, is related to those in charge of educational institutions. He

brings up a comment that the rector of the Istanbul University made that upset him greatly.

You know what the rector of the Istanbul University said here? “I will allow neither Orhan Pamuk nor Yaşar Kemal to enter this university,” he said, “There is no way I would let them in” he said. Would I come to your horrible university anyway??

Here, Kemal refers to a comment the rector, Dr. Mesut Parlak, made in an interview, where he said, “Orhan Pamuk and Yaşar Kemal cannot give a lecture in my university” (Kaplan, 2007). Parlak, who considers himself a nationalist and a patriot, argued that the two writers were traitors. In our interview, Kemal then proceeds to contrast that rector with the rector of the University of Oslo, who drove three hours to personally pick Kemal and his wife up from the airport, and expresses his anger.

(The other) says “I won’t allow Orhan Pamuk or Yaşar Kemal”... This is the country of animals. The other man comes to greet me—he drives three hours with his car, and picks me and Ayşe up and takes us to the university. Look at Norway, look at these animals. He says, “I won’t allow into the university.” I wouldn’t accept his doctorate!! Even if they offered me I wouldn’t accept it.

In his interview with Bosquet (Bosquet & Kemal, 1992/1999), Kemal noted that he had wanted to become a scholar, which he does not mention in our interview.

Kemal’s dream had been to study folklore and ethnography of Eastern cultures, but that he could not continue school. It is also noted elsewhere (e.g., Andaç, 2003) that Kemal

did not leave after middle school at his own will, but he had to leave school for reasons unspecified.

6. Family

Kemal talks about his family, specifically his uncle, mother, and father, in a total of three stanzas. Other than mentioning his uncle (explained under *influential people*), Kemal refers to his mother once and his father twice, the latter whom he mentions in passing. In his interview with Bosquet (Bosquet & Kemal, 1992/1999), he talked about his parents in more detail.

Regarding his mother, Kemal explains her disdain towards Folk Poets: Since Kurdish gentlemen had their own “Poets” (*dengbej*) to travel with them, she thought this occupation was beneath Kemal’s social status, since he was the son of an Agha (*Ağa*), a title given to those who have land or a certain status. Even though Kemal’s family had lost their financial comfort after the death of his father, this did not change the fact that Kemal was the son of an Agha. In his interview with Bosquet (Bosquet & Kemal, 1992/1999), he noted that his mother had been a very capable woman who had managed everything and who had taken great care of him, adding that he “greatly admired her way of dealing with people” (Bosquet & Kemal, 1992/1999, p. 31).

The first time Kemal refers to his father is in a joke. He was told he was the “son of a great Agha,” and he responded, “‘Well he died a long time ago’ I said” (Laughter). The second time he mentions his father is while talking about his stance against the current education system: “I used to be a stutterer. I was with my father when he was murdered. I was a stutterer until I finished elementary school. I was a huge stutterer, in

fact.” Although Kemal does not elaborate upon his father more, his death has a huge impact on Kemal. Witnessing his father’s murder at the age of four and a half traumatized him and caused him to stutter until he was 12 (*Yaşar Kemal: Biography*, n.d.).

7. *Home Environment*

Kemal indicates that his village, the people, and customs greatly inspired his creativity. In fact, most of his novels take place in and around Çukurova (Andaç, 2003). In five stanzas, he emphasized the importance of his home environment, which consists of his village, Gökçeadam, and its general location, the plain of Çukurova.

When asked about the factors that impacted the development of his creativity, Kemal immediately starts talking about how his family immigrated from Van, a city in Eastern Turkey, and settled at the Turkmen village of Gökçeadam. The Turkmens are Turkic people, the majority of whom live in Turkmenistan and in neighboring parts of Central Asia, including Turkey, Iraq and Syria (Encyclopædia Britannica, 2007i). They speak Turkish and their numbers were more than six million at the beginning of the 21st century. Kemal points out that he did not know of a difference between a Kurd and a Turk and that groups from different backgrounds lived in harmony, which he noted in other interviews as well (e.g., Andaç, 2003; Bosquet & Kemal, 1992/1999).

I never knew if I was a Kurd or a Turk. For a long time—I mean, at home everyone spoke Kurdish, they didn’t know Turkish, having come from Van... I went outside, I spoke Turkish, I came home, Kurdish. I didn’t even notice a difference—I’m a Kurd, I’m a Turk—there was no difference...Only when I went

to Kadirli, when I went to the town, did I understand that Kurds were a separate people. I still didn't perceive/recognize was I a Kurd or a Turk.

The culture at that location led Kemal to become immersed with epic story-telling and poetry: "Amazing epic story-tellers came to the village. I was enamoured. All the children slept, but I didn't, I listened (to them) until the morning." The people around him gave him inspiration and provided material for stories and poems. His story about how he and his friend crossed a river to go to the neighboring village for school is an example of childhood experiences that fed his creativity. Various experiences as a young adult in his village, such as working as a water-controller in rice fields, gave him the opportunity to become immersed with nature, which was greatly inspirational to him. He felt a connection with the Savrun Creek, for example, whose water is "is so clear, that should (a page of) the Qur'an fall down to its bottom it could be read."

In other interviews (e.g., Bosquet & Kemal, 1992/1999; Naci, 1993), Kemal emphasized the concept of home. He said that he has always integrated the setting within nature into his work, because he is "convinced that one can only attain truth by placing man in his primordial frame of reference" (Bosquet & Kemal, 1992/1999, p. 129). He expressed his love for his home environment by stating, "If I hadn't learned how to read or write, now I would have been in a village in Anatolia, telling epic stories and singing folksongs" (Naci, 1993).

In other interviews (e.g., Bosquet & Kemal, 1992/1999; Kışlalı, 1987), Kemal talked about the bandits around his village and their impact on his creativity, which he does not mention in our interview. For example, until 1936 there were about 500 bandits

(*eşkiya*) around Çukurova and Kemal had dialogues with some of them (Kışlalı, 1987).

In fact, these experiences led him to create his most famous character Memed (from *Memed, My Hawk*), who is also a bandit (Bosquet & Kemal, 1992/1999).

8. *The People and the People's Language*

Kemal points out the importance of the people and the people's language for his creative work in eight stanzas. With "the people," Kemal is referring to Turkey's "*halk*" which can be translated as "people, community, public, folk" and refers to peasants, workers, teachers, town people, villagers, excluding the rich and upper-middle class (for example, "*halk pazarı*" is translated as "people's market"). He indicates that the people, whom he is a part of, their knowledge and culture have greatly influenced him and his creativity (repeated eight times). He notes that he has used the language of the people (repeated six times), which is different from the Turkish spoken in big cities, particularly Istanbul, and has several different dialects. He points out that the creation of language and changing the style of his novels is crucial for his creative work.

Kemal repeatedly notes the importance of the people (*halk*) for his creativity.

While mentioning nature as a source for inspiration, he adds,

I've learned this from the people (*halk*)—the people know it better than I do.

When you look at the Iliad, again it's the people's things—it's all taken from the people. It comes up to this day... Everything, the most beautiful things in nature were told by the people.

While talking about how Nazım Hikmet got to learn about the people, Kemal uses a metaphor where the people are equated to medicine: "...Nazım takes vaccination/shot of

the people (*halk*)... Nazım said, “Of course you are right. There is nothing richer than the people for a writer.” Kemal emphasized the importance of the people (*halk*) in other interviews as well (Bosquet & Kemal, 1992/1999; Kışlalı, 1987; Naci, 1993). He said that he did not believe in heroes and that the rebels (main characters) in his novels were the products of the people (Naci, 1993).

Kemal contrasts the language (dialect) spoken in the city to that of the village: “(In the village) I was in a—a beautiful language. I mean, (now) I’m in the city—speaking with the people’s (*halk*) language is like poetry.” He suggests that speaking with the people’s language brings a wealth of knowledge itself.

They say I am the one who knows the most in Turkey—everyone says it, I guess it’s not unmannerly if I say it too. But what’s the reason? My language is the people’s language. The Turkmens speak beautifully.

Kemal indicates the importance of creating his language by noting that “the fundamental thing he is creating is language.” Kemal expanded upon his approach to language in his writing in other interviews, noting that when he first started writing, he explored different ways of writing one sentence and studied how various people expressed themselves (Bosquet & Kemal, 1992/1999). As a teenager, he observed that Folk Poets and story-tellers incorporated local expressions and their own use of language into their stories (Bosquet & Kemal, 1992/1999, p. 39). With a dislike to writing in the same form or style, he commented that with every piece of literature, he wanted to “create a new kind of narrative, beginning with a whole new language” (Bosquet & Kemal, 1992/1999, p. 65).

9. The Relationship Between a Country's Literature, Writers, and Socio-Political Issues

Although he does not talk about this topic in our interview, in other interviews Kemal has suggested that a close relationship existed between a country's literature, writers, and the socio-political issues in that country (Bosquet & Kemal, 1992/1999; Kışlalı, 1987; İpekçi, 1971). His thoughts on this issue have been included in the findings since they are closely related to this study. Kemal has called himself a “a political writer” (Kışlalı, 1987) and has emphasized that his art could not be separated from his politics (İpekçi, 1971). He also suggested that writers had a responsibility to their community: “Being a well-known writer obliges one to assume greater responsibility. Because each country knows its particular problems, its writers find situations related to these problems” (Bosquet & Kemal, 1992/1999, p. 103).

Summary

In our interview, the topics upon which Kemal elaborated most were his views on creativity, the government, education, his home environment, and the importance of “the people” (*halk*) and “the language of the people.” In several instances he gave examples of various aspects of his personality and talked about people who were influential in his life.

According to Kemal, creativity is an indescribable and mysterious—almost magical—phenomenon which, although not having been studied enough, is the most prized possession of human beings. While creativity most likely has a strong genetic component, it requires life experience and practice to reach maturity. Nature, with its mysterious quality, is an important source of inspiration. Kemal noted that in order to

concentrate on his work, he retreated to a secluded place, and in order to think creatively, he had to walk (Bosquet & Kemal, 1992/1999). He indicated that he thought about topics for years before he started writing about them (Andaç, 2003) and that he had to work on his creative products extensively (Bosquet & Kemal, 1992/1999).

Kemal openly expressed his aversion to the Turkish government and explained how the government repeatedly interfered with his literary career. An avid socialist (Bosquet & Kemal, 1992/1999), he has been passionate about socio-political issues which are important for his creative work (İpekçi, 1971; Kışlalı, 1987). He also noted that literature was closely tied to socio-political issues (Bosquet & Kemal, 1992/1999; Kışlalı, 1987; İpekçi, 1971) and that his art could not be separated from his politics (İpekçi, 1971).

Kemal distinguished between formal education, which he strongly opposes, and informal education, which he received from his mentor, Arif Dino. The ideal education system Kemal envisions would promote learning through working, producing, and creating. He criticized not just Turkish education, but education all over the world and noted that he did not know of a country that had achieved the education system he envisioned.

Emphasizing the impact of his home environment, Kemal pointed out that the natural environment, the people, and customs were greatly inspiring and led to his passion for epic story-telling and poetry. Repeatedly noting the importance of “the people” (“*halk*,” referring to peasants, workers, teachers, town people, villagers), Kemal emphasized the knowledge he has gained from the lives and culture of the people, who

have been the focus of his novels. Pointing out that he is one of “the people,” he stated that he used the language of the people, which is different from the language (i.e., dialect) of the city. Indeed, his novels contain words and expressions used in Anatolian villages that have not been recorded (Bosquet & Kemal, 1992/1999); in fact, linguist Ali Püsküllüoğlu published a *Yaşar Kemal Dictionary (Yaşar Kemal Sözlüğü)*, Toros Press) in 1991.

Nine personality traits emerged from the interview. Kemal explicitly stated that he had had great luck throughout his life and that he had been a very curious person. His stories indicated that he had been a rebellious and outspoken person and the one trait that was most prominent was his dedication to literature even as a child. Other traits were his intelligence and creativity as a child, persistence, sense of humor, and his high expectations for himself in relation to creativity.

Kemal presented seven people as having an influence on his life and creativity, almost all of whom had a direct impact on his literary career by guiding and encouraging him. One person was a close friend as well as a literary figure who influenced Kemal’s creativity (Hikmet) and one person was his mentor (Dino). The fact that Kemal talked about seven influential people suggests that other people, as a socio-cultural factor, was important.

Section 2: Adalet Ağaoğlu

Adalet Ağaoğlu is an acclaimed novelist, story-writer, playwright, and translator, who has been renowned for her different writing style and political subject matters. Her novels have been translated into various languages including English, French, Dutch, and German and her novel *Fikrimin İnce Gülü* (*The Delicate Rose of My Thought*, 1976) was the basis for the Turkish-German-French film “Mercedes Mon Amour” produced in 1993 (Çakıroğlu & Yalçın, 2003). The novel’s play version also appeared in Amsterdam at the Theater de Balie in 1996 (Ağaoğlu, H., 2003).

In her novels, Ağaoğlu deals with social and political issues in Turkey starting from Atatürk’s death in 1938 until the late 1980s. Her novels explore how people question themselves and the knowledge they have received in a constantly changing world; they investigate the effect of modernization (Temizyürek, 2003). Ağaoğlu criticizes not only viewpoints she opposes, but also those she supports; for example although supporting leftist views, she has criticized dogmatic leftists in Turkish society (some called the revolutionaries [*devrimciler*]) (Ellen, 1989). In addition to this, she has criticized certain aspects of the Kemalist ideology (Ellen, 1989). A social issue that the writer also focuses on is women’s place in Turkish society, which, despite progressive laws, is still patriarchal and often treats women as secondary citizens.

Critics point out that Ağaoğlu has contributed much to the modernization of the Turkish novel (e.g., Gümüş, 2007). In her complex narrative style, voices are mixed (switching back and forth between the first person and the third), narrators promptly change, thoughts and ideas are transparent, and time is flexible (moving from the present

to the past to the future). For example, *Lying Down to Die* (1973) takes place on a morning in 1968 but includes scenes from 1938 until 1968. The list of her creative work is presented in Table 8.

Table 8

Ağaoğlu's Creative Products

Novels:	
Title	Publication Year
Ölmeye Yatmak (Lying Down to Die) (Volume 1 of the trilogy Narrow Times)	1973
Fikrimin İnce Gülü (The Delicate Rose of My Thought)	1976
Bir Düğün Gecesi (A Wedding Night) (Volume 2 of the trilogy Narrow Times)	1979
Yaz Sonu (Summer's End)	1980
Üç Beş Kişi (Curfew)	1984
Hayır (No) (Volume 3 of the trilogy Narrow Times)	1987
Ruh Üşümesi (Shivering of the Soul)	1991
Romantik: Bir Viyana Yazı (A Romantic Viennese Summer)	1993
Plays:	
Title	Publication Year
Bir Piyes Yazalım (Let's Write a Play)	1953
Evcilik Oyunu (Playing House)	1964
Tombala (Bingo)	1967
Çatıdaki Çatlak (The Crack in The Roof)	1969
Bir Kahramanın Ölümü (The Death of a Hero)	1973
Çıkış (Way Out)	1973
Kozalar (Cocoons)	1973
Kendini Yazan Şarkı (The Song that Wrote Itself)	1977
Çok Uzak Fazla Yakın (Very Far Too Close)	1991
Duvar Öyküsü (The Story of the Wall/ Wall Story)	1992
Şiir ve Sinek (The Poem and the Fly)	1992

Table 8, Continued

Story Books:	
Title	Publication Year
Yüksek Gerilim (High Tension)	1974
Sessizliğin İlk Sesi (The First Sound of the Silence)	1978
Hadi Gidelim (Let's Go)	1982
Hayatı Savunma Biçimleri (Ways to Defend Life)	1997
Collection of Essays:	
Title	Publication Year
Geçerken (In Passing)	1986
Gece Hayatım (My Night Life)	1992
Karşılaşmalar (Encounters)	1993
Başka Karşılaşmalar (Other Encounters)	1996
Memoirs:	
Title	Publication Year
Göç Temizliği (Migration Cleansing)	1985
Gece Hayatım (Rüya Anlatısı) (My Night Life [Dream Narration])	1991
Damla Damla: Günler (Drop by Drop: Days) Volume 1: 1969-1977	2004
Damla Damla: Günler (Drop by Drop: Days) Volume 2: 1977-1983	2007
Damla Damla: Günler (Drop by Drop: Days) Volume 3: 1983-1996	2007

Ağaoğlu has won twelve awards listed in Table 9. In 1969, she became the only female Turkish playwright to be entered into the *Reader's Encyclopedia of World Drama* (New York, 1969) (Ağaoğlu, H., 2003; Çakıroğlu & Yalçın, 2003). She has been granted honorary doctorate degrees at Eskişehir Anatolian University and at Ohio State University, where she was called “Turkey’s leading woman novelist” and a “pre-eminent Turkish writer and human rights activist” in December 1998 (“Ohio State and a major Turkish cultural event,” 1998-1999, p. 4). Critics have called her one of the most important novelists of the 20th century Turkish literature (Esen, 2003), one of the leaders

of Turkish female novelists (Esen, 2003), and one of the most prolific writers of modern Turkish literature (Erol, 2003). She is also one of the founding members of the Human Rights Association which was established in 1986 (İnsan Hakları Derneği, n.d.).

Table 9

Ağaoğlu's Awards

Award	Year
The Turkish Language Association's Theater Award	1974
The Sedat Simavi Foundation's Literature Prize	1979
The Orhan Kemal Novel Prize	1980
The Madaralı Novel Prize	1980
The Sait Faik Story Award	1980
The Türkiye İş Bank Literary Award	1992
The Union of Civil Service Graduates - Rüştü Koray Award	1994
The Most Successful Women's Award of the magazine "Kadınca"	1994
TÜYAP's Guest of Honor	1994
The Republic's Grand Prize for Culture and Arts (Literature)	1995
The Aydın Doğan Foundation Award for the Last Five Years' Best Novel	1996
The Aziz Nesin Award	1999

Biographical Information

Adalet Ağaoğlu was born Adalet Sümer in 1927 (officially recorded as 1929) in a town called Nallıhan in west central Turkey (Çakıroğlu & Yalçın, 2003). She had three brothers, one of whom became a businessman, the other a doctor, and the other—the youngest—became a playwright and one of the founders of the Ankara Art Theater (*Ankara Sanat Tiyatrosu*), which was an independent left-wing establishment (Ellen, 1989). After elementary school, her family moved to Ankara, where she continued her education (Andaç, 2005). Her generation was the first to complete their entire education under the Republic. She studied French Language and Literature at the Ankara University, and graduated in 1953, the same year that she wrote her first play, *Let's Write a Play* (*Bir Piyes Yazalım*) with Sevim Uzgören (Andaç, 2005; Ellen, 1989; Çakıroğlu & Yalçın, 2003). She met her future husband, Halim Ağaoğlu at the university.

After graduating, Ağaoğlu started to write radio plays for the Ankara Radio. She then became a dramaturge for Turkish national radio and television organization (TRT) (Çakıroğlu & Yalçın, 2003) and wrote (anonymously) for the newspaper *Ulus* and magazine *Akış* (Andaç, 2005). She married Halim Ağaoğlu in 1954 (Ağaoğlu, H., 2003). Between 1957 and 1959, she lived in Columbus, Ohio, where her husband received his master's degree (Andaç, 2005; Ohio State University, 1998-1999). After returning to Turkey, she continued working at the TRT as the chief of the Ankara Radio Cultural Broadcasting and became one of the founders of the first private theater in Ankara, the Arena Stage (*Meydan Sahnesi*) (Ağaoğlu, H., 2003; Andaç, 2005). She translated

numerous plays into Turkish which were staged (Andaç, 2005). She left the TRT in 1970 and devoted her time to writing. In the 1980s, she wrote a column on the results of the coup of 1980 for the newspaper *Milliyet* and she interviewed the families of those who had been imprisoned because of “thought crimes” (*düşünce suçu*), such as openly supporting leftist views (Andaç, 2005). Because of her support for leftist groups and the Workers’ Party of Turkey (*Türkiye İşçi Partisi*), some of her novels were confiscated. She was also prosecuted for having exhibited “contempt and ridicule of the military forces through the press” with the demand that she go to prison for one to six years because of one of her novels, where the main character witnesses prisoners being tortured during his military service (Andaç, 2005; Ellen, 1989). Even though she was ultimately not imprisoned, she spent several months under prosecution and thousands of confiscated copies of her novel were never returned (Ellen, 1989).

In 1983, Ağaoğlu and her husband moved from Ankara to Istanbul (Ağaoğlu, H., 2003; Andaç, 2005). In 1996, she had a horrible traffic accident after which she had to undergo several operations in Turkey and Frankfurt (Ağaoğlu, H., 2003; Andaç, 2005). In the general election of 1999, she ran for the Parliament as a candidate of ÖDP (*Özgürlük ve Dayanışma Partisi*) (the Freedom and Solidarity Party) (Alaçam, 2002). She does not have any children and currently lives in Istanbul with her husband.

Home Environments

Ağaoğlu experienced her early childhood in the town of Nallıhan (Çakıroğlu & Yalçın, 2003). While there is no information about the town in encyclopedias, it has its own website focusing on its prominent silk trade and its place on the Silk Road (Şener,

2005). The town is located 99,41 miles outside of the capital, Ankara, in west central Turkey (Çakıroğlu & Yalçın, 2003; Şener, 2005) and at the time of the census of 2000, its population was 17,181 (Şener, 2005).

After Ağaoğlu finished elementary school, her family moved to Ankara where she lived for 45 years (Ağaoğlu, H., 2003). Ankara, which was declared the capital of Turkey in 1923, is located in the northwestern part of the country about 125 miles south of the Black Sea (Encyclopædia Britannica, 2007b). Archaeological evidence suggests that the city has been a habitation since the Stone Age. Ankara, where factories of wine and beer, flour, milk, cement, tractors, and construction materials are prominent, is the country's second most important industrial city after Istanbul. It is also located on the main east-west line across Anatolia, thus making it an important location for trade (Encyclopædia Britannica, 2007b). It is the second largest city in Turkey with a population of 4,007,860 according to the census of 2000 (Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry, Turkish Statistical Institute, 2000).

The Interview

On June 29, 2007, I went to Ağaoğlu's home at 6.00 pm for our interview. She opened the door with her husband, Halim Ağaoğlu, who went into the next room immediately, obviously conscious of the "business" we had to attend to. In the living room, Ms. Ağaoğlu asked me about my project and Texas A&M University. The living room was divided into three; one part was similar to a library with books and a computer, one part was the dining area, and one was the sitting area with sofas and a television. Similar to Yaşar Kemal's living room, the one outstanding feature was the

view overlooking the Marmara Sea and the Bosphorus. After a few minutes of talking, I wanted to start the interview. We sat at the table in the dining area and started talking. Ms. Ağaoğlu was very lively with good-humor and a lot of energy. She pointed out that she was happy to be a part of this project because it was important that Turkish literature be known in other countries as an important part of Turkish culture. Mr. Ağaoğlu quietly went to the kitchen through the living room once or twice and it gave me the sense that he was used to tiptoeing around during his wife's interviews. We spoke for about an hour and a half, and it was completely delightful.

In the beginning of the interview, I was nervous and excited to be talking to one of the greatest writers in Turkey, especially because she is one of the greatest *female* writers. As a woman, I felt great respect for Ağaoğlu, especially because of her courage in dealing with sensitive topics as a woman. She started writing about women's issues in Turkish society in the 1960s. Thus, in my eyes, she was not just an amazing writer, she was also an amazing woman, who fought for what she wanted and stood up in a world where men dominated. She was very approachable and friendly during the interview and her stories truly left me wondering how I would have acted if I had lived through the things she had.

Data Analysis

Categories that emerged from the interview included *Ağaoğlu's personality, participant as a creative writer, influential people, education, government, and source of creativity*. Broader categories, such as *locations and their social and personal representation and the impact of gender in society and Ağaoğlu's personal life*, also

emerged. Table 10 presents categories, brief information about the categories, and the number of stanzas pertaining to the categories.

Although she does not state it in one sentence, Ağaoğlu makes several comments that present her theory of a causal relationship between socio-cultural factors, conflict, and creativity, which then, through the grouping as related incidents, formed the category with the same name (*the causal relationship between socio-cultural factors, conflict, and creativity*). There is one instance where a hypothesis (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) was formed by me from Ağaoğlu's suggestions indicating relationships between certain themes, presented under the category *locations and their social and personal representation*.

1. Ağaoğlu's Personality

In 15 stanzas, Ağaoğlu presents various characteristics about her personality including outspokenness and rebelliousness (suggested three times), love for learning (four times), shyness and introversion, love for reading and literature, and skepticism. All of the personality traits are openly expressed by her, except for her candid nature, which I inferred from her stories. In another interview, she noted that she had always been incompatible in society which often led her to consider suicide (Aygündüz, 2004).

Ağaoğlu's rebelliousness and love for learning become apparent when she explains how she insisted upon continuing her education after elementary school when her parents opposed.

Table 10

Findings on Ağaoğlu

Category	Brief Information	Number of stanzas
1. Ağaoğlu's personality	Six personality traits emerged.	15
2. Participant as a creative writer	Ağaoğlu talks about her persona as a writer, how she views creativity and literature, and how she approaches her creative work.	19
3. Influential people	Ağaoğlu talks about people who were supportive in her career as a playwright and as a novelist.	9
4. Education	Ağaoğlu presents a few positive aspects of her school.	2
5. Government	Ağaoğlu explains how the government interfered with her life and how the government creates fear in society.	12
6. Source of creativity	Ağaoğlu notes that creativity rises from a need and can be used to solve problems.	1
7. The causal relationship between socio-cultural factors, conflict, and creativity	Ağaoğlu notes that socio-cultural factors make people the way they are and they cause conflict which then leads to creativity, and creativity can be used to overcome conflicts.	10
8. The transformation from the Empire to the Republic and its impact on the community	Ağaoğlu points out that although embraced by the people, the transformation from Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic was not easy and caused dilemmas in society.	7
9. Locations and their social and personal representation	Three locations (Nallıhan, Istanbul, Ankara) represented different aspects of Ağaoğlu's life, different social classes in society, and her mother (<i>Hypothesis</i>)	Istanbul: 2 Nallıhan: 6 Ankara: 2
10. The impact of gender in society and Ağaoğlu's personal life	Ağaoğlu explains how women have been mistreated, how men also have difficulties, and how she was restricted in her family because of her gender.	14*

Notes. * Includes a conversation in the follow-up interview.

But of course after elementary school, I apparently went on strike, saying “I want to get educated.” They said, “That’s enough”... when they said that, I couldn’t give them an answer, but they say I went on a hunger strike.

Ağaoğlu expresses her love for learning again when she comments that she had feared turning 18 possibly because she “always wanted to remain a child who was being educated.”

Ağaoğlu also openly states that she is rebellious and does whatever she puts her mind to. Noting that she has fought against customs and traditional practices that hindered women, she points out that she has gone “to the beat of her own drum/would do whatever she thought was right (*bildiğini okurdu*).” Indeed, when her father forbade her to be seen with men in the street while she was in college, she responded by doing exactly that: She walked not only with her male classmates, but also her boyfriend Halim—in fact, she was “the first girl who walked on the avenue, the main road, in Ankara holding hands with her boyfriend.”

An example of Ağaoğlu’s outspoken nature is an event that took place while working at the TRT. At one point in her career, she started receiving anonymous, insulting letters targeting her gender, and having been harassed for a while, she confronted her colleagues about it.

At that time our chief (...) said, “Let’s have a meeting at the radio, let’s talk. Who is this, what is it?”... I said, “Let’s do it. But I will say whatever comes to my mind.” “Of course, however you want it.” They spoke, then I stood up, the first thing I said was, “I wonder who wants to sleep with me? Who is writing these letters? Is he among you? He has to be among you, because how does he know these things?!?”

She emphasized this personality trait in her interview with Aygündüz (2004), noting “If my thoughts don’t come out of my mouth or my pen, I feel like I’m living a two-faced life.”

Despite her candidness and rebelliousness, Ağaoğlu is also introverted and shy. Looking back at her childhood, she notes that her “turning inward/becoming more introverted (*içime kapanmam*) (happened) in the town, Nallıhan.” This trait still continues today; for example, she does not like giving speeches.

First of all, standing in front of a crowd—I still become bright red. I’m always a student, I’m always afraid... I do my business closed within myself (*kendi içime kapalı*). Talking in front of a crowd is not my thing. Still, I’m at this age, when I go to universities, to conferences, I get afraid, I tremble till the morning like a child who would take an exam.

During my analysis, I thought it was interesting that Ağaoğlu was both outspoken and introverted at the same time. In her interview with Andaç (2005), she talked about this interesting combination: “Don’t be fooled by how I look. I’m still introverted. But this characteristic never prevented me from doing what I put my head to” (p. 163).

Another trait Ağaoğlu presents is her love for reading and her love for literature, both of which started in her youth.

“I love to read,” I used to tell everyone. Why? It’s unknown. For example, when I saw a piece of newspaper on the ground, I would pick up and read it... I read both the novels that could be popular, that were about romance, and the novels that were classics. I read them all. I read whatever I could find.

She was also interested in memorizing and writing poems.

I was writing poetry in high school. I was memorizing Orhan Veli (a famous poet). I memorized poems from the Ottoman Court Literature and walked around in the house (reciting). It was obvious that I was a writer in high school anyway. It was almost like that. My friends were curious, “What did you write last night? What did you do?” There were poetry sessions, I went up and read.

Ağaoğlu points out that she has been a skeptical person since she read Descartes’ *Discourse on Method* in high school.

I know that I became suspicious; asking the reason of everything—when they say, “This is this,” I don’t immediately believe it... I knew that (at that time) I became an adult/wise (*adam*). I felt that my head was enlightened. When I read it (Descartes’ book) I learned about suspicion, the value of suspicion.

In her interview with Aygündüz (2004), Ağaoğlu noted that she had “always been the opposition and had not been able to fit into the general (society)” which has led her to often think about suicide. She also pointed out that she always included the theme of suicide in her novels and that she saw suicide as “the ultimate rebellion” and a way to take control (Aygündüz, 2004).

2. Participant as a Creative Writer

In 19 stanzas, Ağaoğlu talks about her persona as a writer, how she views creativity and literature, and how she approaches her creative work. Calling her love for writing a “passion,” she emphasizes the importance of creativity three times. She likens herself and other writers to archeologists who are digging for more information four

times. She talks about her curiosity, the moment of inspiration while creating, the importance of using various narrative forms, and her desire to write the “novel of the moment.” She explains how and why she changed genres and emphasizes her habit of getting bored easily of her own work and literature in general by noting it five times. She gives two examples of discontent with her work and presents four instances in which life experiences related to social class issues or gender issues impacted her creative work. In other interviews, she explained how she did research for her novels (e.g., Andaç, 2005; Okur, 2006) and pointed out that she needed solitude and silence while writing (Andaç, 2005). In her interview with Gümüş (2007) and in one of her speeches (Ağaoğlu, A., 2005), she made observations about Turkish literature, Turkish society, and world literature.

While noting that creativity may or may not be genetic, Ağaoğlu says that the source of a person’s love for literature has not been explained: “...Ask whichever writer, whichever creator you can, they cannot report the meaning. ‘I love to read,’ I used to tell everyone. Why? It’s unknown.” She suggests that creativity is the “technique of making up,” the art of fiction, but not without a purpose. As an example, she points out that she wrote and published her dreams (*My Night Life* [*Dream Narration*], 1991) and later found out that dreams were actually useful in understanding a society. She emphasizes the importance of a society’s literature in understanding that society and talks specifically about Turkey.

Whoever is in power then, whatever the power is, documents, reports, essays, communications can be siding with that in power. That’s why I don’t really trust

official documents. But I greatly trust witnesses, witnesses of life... Literature that has life experience (*yaşanmışlık*) and art needs to be known too... Even if we enter the EU ... in order for proper dialogues to be established, our novel with all of its dimensions, our literature with all of its dimensions, needs to be known.

Ağaoğlu makes it obvious that she respects her art greatly and sees it as a vessel to strive for what matters to her.

Because the creator is busy with the human being... the main thing is the human being. The thing in my hand is the human being. I want those human beings to live in a humane way. This is my purpose of being. This is how I think, this is how I live. That's why I feel rage against unfairnesses. And rage leads me to make these things heard. Well, I am not a politician and I'm not going to enter the parliament. My area of expertise is writing. And in fact I find writing to be more lasting. That is my choice, from the beginning, since I was a child.

She expresses her love for her creative work several times, noting that she “greatly enjoys creating the form, the content, the structure, the architecture of whatever she's going to work on” and calls writing “a passion.” In her interview with Andaç (2005), she said that she avoided starting a new novel, because once she did, she became greatly immersed with it: “My head is only concerned with that, like being in love. I just want to belong to it (the novel)” (p. 103).

Always striving to improve, Ağaoğlu points out that she constantly challenges herself: “I can say I compete with myself. Not with anyone—I don't compete with the

outside world (other countries), with other writers.” In a speech, she noted that in each novel she “dealt with the deficiencies” she saw in the one before (Ağaoğlu, A., 2005).

Repeatedly likening herself to an archeologist, Ağaoğlu notes that her curiosity is a factor that stimulates her as a writer.

So in my own creativity—I say it’s like this, I’m like an archeologist. There is a scratching about (*eşeleme*), there is a digging deeper and deeper—this is like the next step of creativity—it’s just like, you see a stone on the soil, but you—of course there’s curiosity in it too—what is there beneath it? What is this? What? (It’s) just like the curiosity of an archeologist. What is it that makes this person a murderer, or in love? What are the external situations?

In other interviews (e.g., Andaç, 2005; Okur, 2006), she explained how she “dug deeper”—how she did research for her novels. For example, to have one of her characters, Colonel Ertürk (in *A Wedding Night*, 1979) write a love letter to his girlfriend in Japan, she read the memoirs of four officers who lived in Korea (Andaç, 2005).

While mentioning the different forms of her novels, Ağaoğlu talks about her desire to write the novel of “a moment” (*an romani*).

...And let me say immediately that I am addicted to writing the novel of the shortest duration. The shortest duration. For example, my first novel is the novel of one hour and twenty-seven minutes. But this was not enough for me. I have to make it shorter, I have to make it narrower.

She explains that she gets an idea or inspiration for a novel all of a sudden in an instant.

But I've discovered this, there is a moment of enlightenment—for the novel—or when I'm walking around all of a sudden something falls in my stomach, my heart, my head... (It) is always born in me from a moment like this, what I call the moment of enlightenment. The emergence of something to the conscious.

She gives an example of how she got inspiration while searching for a different form for her novel, *The Delicate Rose of My Thought*.

After much searching, I found the road/ travel novel (*yol romanı*)—since (he) is (a man) with a car... Something heavy fell on my head. Then, I was going to do something like this, and it was very surprising to me too.

Ağaoğlu tells the story of her journey within her creativity—how she first wrote poetry, then switched to plays, and then switched to novels. After university she stopped writing poems, because despite her success, she felt she would not be able to deserve being called “a poet.” She was hired by the Ankara Radio, where she adapted radio plays from the classics. She notes, “It was sort of a rehearsal for me there writing radio plays. Then I wrote stage plays.”

After gaining success as a playwright, she decided she would switch to novels for two reasons. One reason was that the various restrictions in the theater would not allow her to express her ideas freely: “Theater is something that is done as a group and I wanted to put the Republic's ideology on the operation table. There (in the theater) a censor mechanism can be involved.” Thus, the censorship and various restrictions, such as the limited number of people who could act in a play, pushed her away from playwriting. The second reason was her desire to add something new to Turkish novels.

I started becoming sick and tired of novels I was reading. Everyone was pretty much writing the same things under the same form. Always the same things. The things of the Republic's ideology, the good teacher, the bad Imam (prayer leader or elder of mosque) (*hacı-hoca*). Like this, and always under the same classic narrative, "She came, she left," and so forth.

Regarding her literary style, Ağaoğlu points out that because she is "a person of literature (*edebiyatçı*)," she pays great attention to the form of her novels. She likens modifying the form of novels to architecture: "I mean, as I change the content I must change the form... I constantly (modify) according to what I will tell." In one of her speeches, she pointed out that she in writing her first novel, *Lying Down to Die* (1973), she wanted to "liberate the Turkish novel from its constrictions" (Ağaoğlu, A., 2005). Thus, in her novels she used different narrative styles such as poetry, play, letter, memoir, and first person narration.

Ağaoğlu also notes that a reason for her desire to change the narrative style of her novels is her boredom of the narrative styles that are used often. She gets bored not only of other novels, but also her own novels, which is often accompanied by a feeling of discontent.

For example, the modern novel, it came and it left, and so forth... Since this has made me sick and tired of it, I immediately changed the form of my novel. But I can't be content with that because it is accepted. It (???) is not enough. "I did this, but if I do this like that, it will be more aesthetic"—I come to terms with

myself a lot like this. To be honest, that's why I get bored of myself while I'm creating.

There were instances in which Ağaoğlu's discontent with her own work turned into disbelief, which suggests that she had higher expectations for herself creatively. For example, while in college, although she won an award for poetry, she felt that she could not be worthy of being called a poet.

Then I carried the weight of that—this is also very interesting—when they announced me as a poet, I got the feeling that I wouldn't be able to deserve this, I wouldn't be able to do it. And I left poetry and went to theater... But that responsibility seemed too big to me.

Ağaoğlu talks about how her experiences related to either social class issues (two examples) or gender issues (two examples) influenced her creative work. For example, she used her experience of being perceived as a part of a lower social class in Ankara, where white-collar workers saw themselves as the higher social class, in a novel: “So—I can call it an autobiographical novel—this was reflected in *Lying Down to Die*.” She points out that she used her experiences and observations regarding gender roles in Turkey in her novel *Curfew* (1984).

Ağaoğlu provided information on the environment that enhanced her creative productivity in her interview with Andaç (2005). She pointed out that she wanted and “really needed” silence to write and concentrate (p.117). She said,

I can't do anything without listening to myself/ "travelling within myself"
(içimde tek başıma dolaşmadan). Some people can write when they are with
 others. I want a definite solitude. (Andaç, 2005, p. 120)

In 2005, during a speech in New Jersey, Ağaoğlu talked about the perception of literature in Turkey. She suggested that Turkish society had an inferiority complex and constantly compared itself with the West regarding literature (Ağaoğlu, A., 2005). She also talked about the place of Turkish literature in the world today, noting that although Ottoman culture and literature had been somewhat known in Western society, Turkish Republican literature was almost unknown (Ağaoğlu, A., 2005). In her interview with Gümüş (2007), she commented that a plausible reason for this was the problem of translation and the fact that Turkish was not a widespread language like German or French. She noted that Orhan Pamuk's Nobel Prize was a gain for the country, since it brought Turkish literature more attention in the world (Gümüş, 2007).

3. Influential People

Regarding support from others, Ağaoğlu had very different experiences as a playwright and as a novelist. She talks about this issue in nine stanzas, only one of which was prompted by me. While receiving support from some established and successful "respectable elders" for her theater plays, she did not receive any support for her novels. By commenting on it seven times, she emphasizes that the greatest support came from her readers, whom she feels very indebted to. She mentions her accident in 1996 three times, but only as a means through which she realized how much she was loved. Although not mentioning it in our interview, she talked about the tragedy behind her

accident in other interviews (Aygündüz, 2004; Andaç, 2005), while still pointing out that the accident let her see how much she was loved (Andaç, 2005). She noted that her mother was influential on her as a writer in her interview with Andaç (2005).

Ağaoğlu first refers to influential people while talking about her theater career. She notes that she was greatly encouraged by Muhsin Ertuğrul (1892-1979), who is a very important figure in Turkish theater and cinema, and novelist and journalist Refik Ahmet Sevengil (1903-1970) who was her witness at her wedding (Çakıroğlu, & Yalçın, 2003). She emphasizes Ertuğrul's role in her theater life.

If it weren't for Muhsin Ertuğrul, I would not have been a playwright. Because he literally ran after the young generation of writers. We (didn't run) after them—I didn't run (after them). I never said something like, "Please, sir, (look at) my play." He kept saying, "My child, haven't you written something new?"... he kept saying "Don't you have a new play?" In that period, we had such elders (*büyüklerimiz*).

The other supportive person Ağaoğlu mentions is Sevim Uzgören whom she calls "*Abla*"—"elder sister," which can be used as a sign of respect for older friends or acquaintances. She notes that Uzgören encouraged her and practically forced her to write her first play, *Let's Write a Play (Bir Piyas Yazalım)* (1953) which they ended up co-writing (Ağaoğlu, H., 2003). Thus, it may have been thanks to Sevim Uzgören that Ağaoğlu started her career as a playwright at all.

On the other hand, Ağaoğlu reports that she has not received one-on-one support from others as a novelist.

There was no one. No one—including the press, including critics—when my first novel came out, the two critics who had the most power (in the literary world) said the most horrible things about it (*yerin dibine batırdılar*)—I can say they spoke ill of *Lying Down to Die*.

Ağaoğlu immediately adds, however, that she continued writing novels thanks to the support from her readers and her own sense of responsibility: “...It’s very strange, it existed thanks to my readers. And also, in fact, I have to be accountable to myself/I have to be able to justify it to myself (*kendime hesabı doğru vermek*).” She emphasizes that the media accepted her as a novelist thanks to the great support from her readers. She adds, “I realize that I have readers by going back and forth all over the place, going to conferences and so forth, or getting letters from different parts of Anatolia.” She also notes that she feels great responsibility to her readers, both as a writer and as a human being.

I still have not been able to pay back the debt I have for those who showed me great concern... I’ve always felt a responsibility to the readers who have made me who I am... I still carry on my back that responsibility—the responsibility of love and respect—the responsibility for the interest my readers have shown me.

Ağaoğlu mentions her accident three times, only as the event which let her see how much she was loved. For example, she notes, “I know I am loved a great deal. I found this out only after I got into the accident. I didn’t know how much I was loved. I didn’t know I was loved that much, including by columnists.”

Ağaoğlu talked about the outcomes of the accident in her interview with Andaç (2005), where she said, “(After the accident) I lost my old life style. I’m not the old me” (p. 73). In her interview with Aygündüz (2004), Ağaoğlu also noted that the accident was the reason for her decision to publish her diaries, which have appeared under the title *Drop by Drop: Days* in three volumes. The close encounter with death made her think that when she is gone, her diaries would probably be revealed. Since she could not bring herself to destroy them, she decided to prepare her diaries for publication (Aygündüz, 2004).

In her interview with Andaç (2005), Ağaoğlu noted that her mother’s great interest in novels had had an impact on her. She also said that her mother had always been happy about her desire to be a writer.

4. Education

Without my prompting, Ağaoğlu mentions education in regards to her love for learning and her desire to continue school. After I inquire about education’s impact on her creativity, she explains that high school provided her with two opportunities. First, she was able to read numerous books checked out from the library—“The (school’s) library had been purified and filled with (world) classics.”

Second, in her Philosophy and Logic lesson in high school, she read a book which taught her how to be skeptical.

When I read Descartes’ *Discourse on Method* I found out what suspicion meant; it had a great contribution to my consciousness at that time; my consciousness then and my consciousness now fit each other. The same way... I know that I

became suspicious; asking the reason of everything—when they say, “This is this,” I don’t immediately believe it... I knew that (at that time) I became an adult/wise (*adam*). I felt that my head was enlightened. When I read it (Descartes’ book) I learned about suspicion, the value of suspicion.

Of course, one cannot speculate whether she would have stumbled upon the book on her own. She was very interested in reading different kinds of books, so maybe she would have come across it anyway. But, as it is, it was the curriculum that provided her with this experience. However, she does not give any other example regarding education’s impact on her or her creativity.

5. *Government*

Ağaoğlu emphasizes her strong feelings against the government (after the 1930s, during which the Republic was fully established) and expresses her opinions in a total of 12 stanzas. She presents eight examples of how the government interfered with her personal life, creative work (theater, radio, and novels), and her career as a dramaturge at the TRT (Turkish Radio Television Company), which included an attack on her specifically as a woman. After these experiences, she concluded that if a writer breaks rules or addresses taboos directly and the community admires her, the government sees her as a threat. Ağaoğlu also shares her belief about the government’s psychological impact on the community three times.

Ağaoğlu first talks about the government while explaining about how women can be very brave creatively because of their rage against society and gives herself as an example: “Believe me, I’m not trying to be a hero, be courageous...But I have added

something to our novel that had never been said. I've put something that is a taboo..."

She then presents an example of the government's interference with her life.

...I only realized that it was a taboo, that it was forbidden after my book was confiscated (from bookstores by the police). That I broke a taboo—it was very much sold and embraced, *A Wedding Night* (1979)—it received many awards, but at the same time, just like the book before it (*Lying Down to Die*, 1973), it was confiscated, it stayed on top of the prosecutor's table.

After the coup of 1980, her book *The Delicate Rose of My Thought*, which had first been published in 1976, was confiscated (from bookstores). Ağaoğlu was especially surprised, since it was the book's fourth edition and nothing had happened before then. She later realized that it was because of another book, *A Wedding Night*, which had been published in 1979. Since the book criticized the government and the military and was greatly admired by the public, Ağaoğlu had become a danger and a target. After these experiences, she concluded that an interesting relationship exists between writers, the community, and the government: "I've understood this, if you've touched a taboo and you show courage, if it is embraced too much, if it is admired too much, immediately precautions are taken."

Ağaoğlu explains how she realized she was being watched by the government. When I ask if she had openly voiced her leftist views, she says that although she is quite transparent with her thoughts ("what is inside, is outside") she did not publicly declare her political views. In spite of this, her donation to the Workers' Party of Turkey at a bank was announced in the newspapers.

Two days later, in right-wing newspapers, a huge (heading) “Communist writer is in the TRT”—and the day, the hour, the amount that I deposited, all written.

I’m telling you there was a “deep state/ government” (*derin devlet*). How could it be? That means it was the police there part of the “deep state/ government”

(*derin devlet*). It was all like this. This is how things happened, this was how.

The term “deep state” refers to the unofficial affiliation between units of the government and criminal organizations (Ahmad, 2003).

Ağaoğlu points out that the government did not only interfere with her life as a novelist, but also her career as a playwright. One of her plays was cancelled because of a comment made by a character: “And (I know) it was because these sentences: ‘They will get what they deserve, these menfolk! One day, the poor community will come down from the hills and strangle all of them,’ and so forth.”

When I ask her whether being a woman impacted her professional life, Ağaoğlu says that although she was not treated differently, a certain personal attack was directed towards her gender. It was in 1969, a year before the military ultimatum of 1970, that she became chief and the TRT’s autonomy was being challenged. While working for the maintenance of the company’s autonomy, she and her colleagues started receiving threatening and demeaning letters. However, the difference between her colleagues, who were all male, and her was that the attacks to her were directed towards her gender.

“How can a woman who doesn’t have an ovary be chief?” Because I had had an operation on my ovaries a long time beforehand, before TRT had been

established, one (of my ovaries) was taken, and only one or two very close friends knew about it.

She was, and still is, very upset about it, which she expresses with her angry and sarcastic comments.

For example, “Can a woman who’s missing an ovary be chief?”—such insult-filled letters started coming to me. Really, look at the method of hunting! We were a few people... they also received some letters, in a different way. It came to men—from “man to man” (*erkek erkeğe*)—whereas mine—I am a woman—this is how it comes to the “woman kind” (*kadın kısmına*).

From these words, it is obvious that the attack was especially malicious because she was a woman. Later on, she summarizes her answer to my question about whether her gender impacted her professional life.

What I’m trying to tell you is this, you know you were asking “Did you face some things because you were a woman?” Man, woman, we were all facing (many things). But the things that I faced were directed towards my feminine organs.

In addition to presenting various examples of the government’s interference with her life, Ağaoğlu also shares her belief about the government’s impact on the community. She presents her opinion three times, none of which were prompted by a question.

Ağaoğlu suggests that the government creates fear and foreign enemies to produce solidarity in society. She presents a possible reason for this.

We always created foreign enemies. Because when the community seems to be dissolving, a foreign enemy is created. Because in the Independence War there was a real foreign enemy. And let's say this was how a nation (*millet*) was born—a nation was able to form—solidarity was able to exist. But there is truly no point in looking at that, and then sitting and constantly saying “Foreign enemy, foreign enemy,” trying to get people to band together. Pay attention, my generation lived through a constant creation of foreign enemies—either “Hitler is coming” or “Communists are coming to get us” or “You’re communists”—there’s a big fear of communist countries. There’s constantly a fear, fear is constantly created.

She notes that this socio-political problem “fed her authorship,” which is accordance with her theory of the causal relationship between society, conflict, and creativity.

Ağaoğlu later restates the Turkish government’s problem with socialism, which many Turkish writers had to deal with, with a touch of sarcasm, “If you look like a left-wing supporter, some things are bound to happen to you.” She suggests that the government creates fear because it itself is afraid and untrusting of the Turkish society. She expressed these opinions in her interview with Andaç (2005) as well.

6. *Source of Creativity*

When asked to describe creativity, Ağaoğlu immediately presents the source of creativity and indicates that creativity is a method of problem solving: “I think and feel that creativity comes out of a narrowing (feeling cornered, like walls are closing in on you, *daralmak*).” She gives the examples of the finding of fire and the invention of the

wheel, pointing out that it all “rose from a need... all of this is creativity, but to cure a trouble, to overcome a problem. This is how I perceive creating...” She later introduces socio-cultural factors and how they lead to creativity (presented under the following category).

7. The Causal Relationship Between Socio-Cultural Factors, Conflict, and Creativity

After presenting the source of creativity, Ağaoğlu makes several comments that present her theory of a causal relationship between various socio-cultural factors, conflict, and creativity in ten stanzas. She points out that people become the way they are because of socio-cultural influences and states, 11 times, that she pays extreme attention to these influences. The causal relationship she presents can be summarized as, “society leads to conflicts, dilemmas, and needs which then lead to creativity.” In some instances, she intensifies the feeling of conflict and presents the word “rage”—in fact, she presents rage as the most important factor that influenced her creativity and repeats the word 18 times. One socio-cultural factor she specifically points out is gender and she adds this dimension to the causal relationship which then becomes, “society leads to female oppression which leads to rage which leads to creativity in women.” She notes how conflicts in Turkish history and society have most probably stimulated creativity both within her and in the people overall.

After Ağaoğlu indicates that creativity rises from a need to solve a problem or reach a solution, she proceeds by making an observation about Turkish society.

Of course I too am a member of a society that is jammed/crushed (*sıkışmış*) between two cultures. And this state between two cultures, the changes in moral

laws/traditional practices (*töreler*), changes fast or slow, these (give) a person many questions, many dilemmas—and one has to overcome these dilemmas. She later ties these conflicts to creativity, pointing out that they probably stimulated her creativity.

I think these are the things that have fed my authorship, all those conflicts, all those dilemmas, and the created fears, in a society—because it's not easy, inventing a society of the Republic from the Ottoman Empire.

She also notes that such conflicts can stimulate creativity within everyone.

I say that maybe this cultural dilemma is very useful for creativity. Conflicts—because art is born from conflicts, at the same time. Contradictions—there it is like that, here it is like this, there it is like that... This can be climate; climate conditions; it can be geography. It can be cultural interactions; it can be moral laws/traditional practices (*töre*). It can be past history, the new interpretation of history. I can say that all of these factors provoke a person to overcome dilemmas.

In response to my question, “What factors have impacted the development of your creativity?” Ağaoğlu states, “I believe the most evident, the most forceful factor is rage.” She explains that this rage is

against violence, rage against unfairnesses. Something—I want to raise my finger and make something heard. I want to say, “there's this too”... And rage leads me to make these things heard... Well, I am not a politician and I'm not going to enter the parliament. My area of expertise is writing.

Thus, she uses her creativity as a way of voicing her opinion and her rage against injustices in the world. She later points out that having experienced socio-political turmoil, such as military interferences, caused feelings that were ultimately let out through creativity.

I live in such a society that my generation—I myself have personally lived three military—three and a half, four, five—coups. There is a feeling of narrowing (feeling cornered, like walls are closing in on you, *daralma*) that has risen from that. That's why I say rage. (It all) provoked (my creativity). That's how you can break taboos. There is a secret courage in creativity. Just like vomiting our rage.

Following this, Ağaoğlu brings up gender issues and how being a woman in society impacts one's creativity.

Yes there is a rage, a sort of defiance... The defiance of women is vehement, maybe because they have been greatly crushed/repressed (*ezildikleri için*), because they have been greatly insulted. It's a matter of action and reaction. The more they are repressed, the more their rage increases, the braver they can be.

As an example, she points out that the restrictions she experienced in her family because of her gender caused her to feel rage which probably instigated her to write.

Ağaoğlu talked about the importance of such feelings for creativity in her interview with Andaç (2005) as well. When asked about creative writing while feeling happy, she said, "You cannot paint the picture of happiness. That is not the problem. If everything is fine, there's no need to talk, write, and especially create. Pain is (means) opposition" (Andaç, 2005, p. 104).

In our interview, Ağaoğlu emphasizes the importance of society and culture in the formation of a person's character: "It is people who make societies, but it is also societies, external factors, that make people." While writing, she thinks, "What is it that makes this person a murderer, or in love? What are the external situations? I search for answers for these kinds of questions."

8. The Transformation from the Empire to the Republic and Its Impact on the Community

Having been born in 1927, only four years after the founding of the Turkish Republic, Ağaoğlu witnessed the great shift from the Ottoman society to the Turkish nation, which she talks about in seven stanzas, all without my prompt. In fact, she witnessed her father go from being a scientist of the Ottoman Empire to an illiterate man of the Turkish Republic. She notes that despite the difficulties of this shift, the people embraced and adopted the changes, which is one reason Ağaoğlu prefers to call the founding of the Republic a transformation and metamorphosis, instead of a revolution. Thus, in summary, she points out that although embraced by the people, the transformation from Ottoman regime to the Turkish Republic was not easy and caused dilemmas in society.

Ağaoğlu talks about the difficulties the adults of the period, including her father, experienced. Her father was a "*Hafiz*," a person who was chosen by the Ottoman Empire, who was educated, and who memorized the entire Koran to "sing" during the "*Ezan*" (call to prayer). Of course, after the founding of the Republic and the alphabet reform in which the Latin alphabet replaced the former Arabic, he "went from being a

scientist in the Ottoman Empire to being a man who can't read or write.” Meanwhile, Ağaoğlu and her brothers did not understand what their father was going through: “As the children of the Republic, we were embarrassed (of my father and) my grandfather (also a ‘*Hafiz*’) saying ‘Argh, he was a man of religion!’ and so forth. I think we’ve been unfair to that generation.” She clearly feels some guilt for not understanding her father’s situation then.

He had received the Ottoman culture, a “*Hafiz*”, a man of religion. It was only after I turned 40 that I realized that men of religion then were intellectuals. I was able to understand their drama after I turned 40. Because they were the intellectuals and artists of the past.

She presents an example of the huge generational difference between her father and her: When her father listened to Classical Turkish Music on the gramophone, she and her brothers “laughed. We are the children of the Republic —it has to be tango, waltz (Laughter).”

Ağaoğlu explains the kinds of adjustments people made to be a part of the new Turkish nation, which led to—if not external—internal conflicts.

If they adopted the Republic ideology, they adopted everything. They let their daughters wear short skirts although they didn’t want to, they let them also wear socks. But this is a huge dilemma created in society... In order to understand today, you need to look at that period very closely.

As a part of the first generation to complete their entire education under the Republic, Ağaoğlu's experience at school also reflected the dramatic shift in society. So when I ask her about her education, she points out she was

born into that period of metamorphosis... (For) us it was of course so that the Republic ideology is indoctrinated everywhere. For example, our elementary school teacher Ms. Semiha wore a skirt and a tailored suit, she wore a hat, and that was something that we didn't really have (in the town).

Later on she says that what was important during her education was whether one was "a good child of the Republic" and "secular...fitting Western principles."

However, despite such difficulties, these changes were not forced upon the people: "The people/community (*halk*) accepted this change. And the Independence War (*Kurtuluş Savaşı*) was greatly applauded." As an example of how the people accepted the changes under the Republic, Ağaoğlu talks about the change of language of the call to prayer (*ezan*), which is sung (with a certain melody) from the minarets of mosques five times a day. The prayer had been in Arabic, the language of the Koran, but after the purification of Turkish and the alphabet reform, it was translated into Turkish. Although the general consensus was that the Arabic version was beautiful, "like a lullaby," the people "didn't say a word. They didn't make a sound." Shortly after, however, it was reversed to its original Arabic.

Ağaoğlu prefers to call the founding of the Republic a metamorphosis and transformation instead of a revolution since the changes during the 1920s and 30s were not forced upon the people and did not include violence, which, she explains,

revolutions, such as the 1789 French Revolution, typically include. She notes that another reason the founding of the Republic was not a revolution was that certain fundamental issues did not change after 1923: “Because in the end we are an Islamic country, we haven’t solved that issue yet. Everyone’s (citizen) ID card says ‘Islam.’ We are seen as an Islamic country. That’s why if we call this a revolution, it needs to be something very fundamental.” She comments that Turkish society is unique with its composition filled with contradictions.

I say that there is no equal (in regards to similarity) of Turkish society in the world. I say that it has no equal (in regards to similarity) also in creativity.

(There’s) going to be both Islam and a Republic—there’s going to be both secularism and Islam—and (it’s) going to live this change for 80 years... It is not easy to come to this day with such a big dilemma. And it doesn’t have another example (It is unique in that sense).

9. Locations and Their Social and Personal Representation

Throughout the interview, Ağaoğlu paints a picture of social classes in Turkey while presenting three locations that have been a part of her life. The locations are Nallıhan, the town where she was born and lived during elementary school (six stanzas); Ankara, where her family moved to after she finished elementary school (two stanzas); and Istanbul, where she visited often as a child and later moved to (two stanzas). She relates her mother to Istanbul, noting that as a modern woman of the Republic, she belonged to a city like Istanbul, not Nallıhan. Her comments that associate each location with different social class issues and her family led me to form the hypothesis (Glaser &

Strauss, 1967) that these locations represent different aspects of Ağaoğlu's life, different social classes in society, and her mother.

Istanbul, the big city that is presented always favorably, represents a higher social level (city-people), modernism, and the Republic for Ağaoğlu. Her family visited the city thanks to her father's job as a tradesman, which let Ağaoğlu have several fond childhood memories there. These trips made her feel like her family part of a higher social class: "I never had a complex, because when we returned to town (from Istanbul), we were already like city-people, we dressed like that and so forth." In her interview with Andaç (2005), she noted that these trips influenced her creativity as well: "There are traces of them in my written work and in the way I view novels" (p. 24).

Ağaoğlu associates Istanbul with her mother, indicating that her mother's customs fit Istanbul more than the town. She emphasizes that her mother was "a woman of the Republic," referring to a woman who has supported, adopted, and embraced the modern ways and cultural shifts of the Republic to become more modern and more Westernized. Ağaoğlu's mother, who was enlightened and supportive of her and her brothers, was a modern representative of the Republic, just like Istanbul. In fact, everything Ağaoğlu says about her mother, whether related to Istanbul or not, refers to her modern customs.

But let me say this, as soon as my mother left for Istanbul she immediately wore her patterned dress, her short-sleeved (shirt) and sat in the car. She put on her straw hat and so forth. She wasn't from Nallıhan, the woman was from Istanbul. She was like that (Laughter)...But probably my mother felt very comfortable in

Istanbul. She had already been a woman of the Republic anyway because she kept going there. That's how I remember her.

Nallıhan is Ağaoğlu's hometown which she felt was like a big city with a modern culture, probably because of her mother's modern ways befitting a big city and her father's business association with Istanbul, as well as the town's flourishing silk trade. Her social status varied in the town—at times she felt she was looked up to and at times she felt she was looked down upon. In one stanza, she contrasts “town-children” with “village-children,” where in comparison to the latter, the former felt they were of an upper social class, like children of the city.

Kids from neighboring villages came to my elementary school...We were of course, next to them, like town-children, city-children. Village-children came from villages that were close. There are group photos of us—you can pin-point them immediately. There was such a difference.

However, she also experienced being looked down upon by the son of the head of the county police (*jandarma kumandanı*), who was a part of the social class of white-collar workers.

Meanwhile, Ağaoğlu's childhood memories of Nallıhan are favorable, which she exemplifies with two stories. She was able to have interesting experiences in the town, such as “riding every means of transportation” and play with her brothers in nature. She also had freedom in the town, for example, she played with her brothers as she wished, which changed once they moved to Ankara.

Ankara, as opposed to Istanbul, is the big city that Ağaoğlu always presents in a negative light. This city is where she felt she was part of a lower social class and was belittled by classmates. She explains her experience at school.

As soon as I started middle school, it was a subject of ridicule for the children of white-collar workers (*memur*)... the girls came—I had long hair in braids, thick hair—they constantly pulled my hair. Either I was younger than them, or they saw me as a town-girl. You know how villagers are made fun of too—the upper class makes fun of villager children—they are made fun of, pushed (around).

Thus, while in Nallıhan, she was a part of a social class that was higher than the social class of villagers; in Ankara, she saw herself in the same level as the social class of villagers. Ağaoğlu's difficulty in Ankara also rose from her loss of freedom (explained under the following category focusing on gender).

10. The Impact of Gender In Society and Ağaoğlu's Personal Life

Ağaoğlu expresses her thoughts and feelings about how women have been mistreated in society and talks about how she was treated differently in her family because of her gender. She points out that she did not get attention from the community or the media when she was sued by the government and she believes it was because of her gender, since male writers receive a lot of attention in the same situation. Her concern for gender issues extend to men as well, as she notes the pressure put on men in Turkish society. In our follow-up interview, she noted that her mother's financial dependence on her father impacted her greatly and led her to decide to be financially

independent. She talks about gender issues in a total of 14 stanzas, one of which was during the follow-up interview.

Ağaoğlu openly states the unjust treatment women have been subjected to within society: “The defiance of women is vehement, maybe because they have been greatly crushed/repressed (*ezildikleri için*), because they have been greatly insulted.” She points out that “there has always been oppression” that “exists all over the world,” not just in Turkey.

When I ask if she experienced anything differently because of her gender in the literary world, Ağaoğlu comments that whenever a male writer is sued by the government because of leftist ideas or “insulting Turkishness” (see Chapter II for information on Penal Code Article 301), both the community and the media pay a lot of attention, in contrast to when she was sued.

It’s a very strange thing, for example men—if something happens to Yaşar Kemal—and you can interpret this as something related to us being women—we all gather in front of the court building, we all stand there, signatures are collected. When something like this happened to me, nothing happened... I also went to court, I went to court alone with my lawyer and came back. No one came to the court building, I mean, nothing happened. Nothing that was done for Yaşar Kemal was done... He was also known as a leftist, I was also known as a leftist—we both are still. Why does it happen for them but not for me? From that I deduct: that’s all (because I’m) a woman.

Ağaoğlu points out that a female writer, like Elif Şafak, an internationally acclaimed writer who was prosecuted for “insulting Turkishness” and was acquitted (Rainsford, 2006), gets attention from national and international media because she has connections with the media. This is the only example she gives of being treated differently as a female writer.

Ağaoğlu’s concern for gender issues is not limited to women, however, as she points out the pressure put on men in Turkish society.

It’s not only women, men also get crushed/ repressed, for example, in order to defend their families against society. They have gotten the shot of manhood (*erkek aşısı yemişler*). That’s why I’m not a radical feminist. What is it that made fathers, men like this (oppressive)? Male education. They will be heros, they will earn money, they will be moralists—they (grow) with these indoctrinations (they receive a shot with all of this).

Once again, Ağaoğlu’s strong belief in society’s impact on people is exemplified. She has described herself as a feminist in other interviews as well (e.g., Ellen, 1989; Karlıklı, 1987), but she has also noted that she takes into consideration the pressure on men.

Ağaoğlu herself dealt with problems in her family because of being a woman in Turkish society, especially experiencing youth in the 1930s and 1940s. She started being treated differently from her brothers when her family moved to Ankara. While in Nallıhan she could run around as she desired, once in Ankara she no longer had this freedom: “After moving to the city, being seen outside, going out after it got dark did not happen for me. I was not let out.” While both her father and her brothers put pressure on

her, her mother did not (as she noted in our follow-up interview). The reason for the change of family dynamic after moving to the city may have been Ağaoğlu's age. In Nallıhan she was a child and therefore not restricted, but in Ankara she reached adolescence. However, Ağaoğlu suggests that there is an overall difference between societal rules for women in small towns and big cities regardless of age. She addresses this difference in one of her novels, *Curfew* (1984): "The women of prominent families of the country/city are very sheepish. They have more discipline (rules) than village women—(they should) behave like this, behave like that."

Ağaoğlu experienced difficulties as a girl because of traditions related to education as well. Since the Turkish Republic made it mandatory for girls to go to school, she attended elementary school in her hometown. However, her family thought that a girl did not need to continue her education, which was a typical notion at that time. Ağaoğlu's persistence changed their mind and they moved to Ankara so that Ağaoğlu could attend middle school. Although her father did not oppose high school, he did object to her attending university: "I don't know—maybe they said, 'She's a grown up girl, she's a young girl, she should wait for a husband'—I don't know what happened." It was her "enlightened" mother, as well as her own insistence, that changed her father's mind.

However now, looking back and considering society's pressure, her father's opposition makes sense to Ağaoğlu.

And of course if fathers let their daughters work, “He couldn’t take care of his daughter” is said. I think my father’s whole fear was (having people say) “This man has money—can’t he take care of her that he is making her go to school?”

It was society that led Ağaoğlu’s father to think and act a certain way. Indeed, at the time, a woman attending high school or university was perceived much differently than it is today. It was the Law of Unification of Education (LUE) in 1924 that required all boys and girls in the nation to attend co-educational schools for a minimum of five years (Ersel, Kuyas, Oktay, & Tuncay, 2005a). However, before 1924, it had not been necessary for all girls to attend school; thus, when Ağaoğlu was a child, the image of girls’ education was just changing.

Ağaoğlu’s father went through an interesting transformation. While she attended college, he told her she was not to have any male friends. However, after meeting her boyfriend Halim, and future husband, and his family, he let her do whatever she wanted, including going on a trip alone with Halim before marriage. In her interview with Andaç (2005), Ağaoğlu noted that her father had had a big impact on her life.

In our follow-up interview, Ağaoğlu explained how her mother’s situation influenced her views on women’s financial independence. She remembered her mother having to ask her father for money when they needed to buy new shoes. In fact, when she was 15 or 16, her mother said, “I couldn’t even be a servant” because she was the wife of a gentleman (*bey*) and thus would not be qualified, or was “overqualified,” to have a job at all. Later on Ağaoğlu understood that her mother had felt very belittled (her pride was hurt; *ezik*), and decided to be financially independent, which she has

accomplished. In her interview with Andaç (2005), she noted, “I’m very excessively fond of to my economic freedom. I never used ‘husband’s money’ (*koca parası*) because I was working when I got married” (p. 164). In fact, she indicated that she got married “as a person who was against marriage” (p. 161) and that if her husband had interfered with her writing, she could not have continued their marriage (Andaç, 2005).

Summary

Categories that emerged from our interview focused on Ağaoğlu’s personality, her as a creative writer, influential people, education, the government, Turkish history, gender, various socio-cultural factors in general, and creativity. The subject Ağaoğlu talked about most frequently was her persona as a writer, which included her views on creativity and literature and her approach to her creative work. She noted the importance of creativity and literature as the reflection of a society’s culture and emphasized her love for writing. She likened writers to archeologists digging for information and pointed out the importance of varying narrative styles in her novels. She gave examples of how experiences related to social class issues or gender issues impacted her creative work. In other interviews, she explained how she did extensive research for her novels (Andaç, 2005; Okur, 2006) and noted that she needed solitude and silence while writing (Andaç, 2005). Ağaoğlu emphasized that the only source of support for her as a novelist had been her readers. Her mother had a positive impact on her creativity and her father’s experiences and struggles greatly influenced her life (Andaç, 2005).

Ağaoğlu noted that creativity rose from a need and could be used to solve problems. She repeatedly pointed out that social, cultural, and political factors were

crucial for creativity, since, society led to conflicts, dilemmas, and needs which then led to creativity. She noted that conflicts in Turkish history and society, such as the transformation from the Ottoman regime to the Turkish Republic, probably stimulated creativity both within her and in the community overall. She indicated that the factor that was most influential to her creativity was rage, which was caused by various conflicts in society. She also noted that society led to female oppression which in turn led to rage within women.

Ağaoğlu emphasized that women have been subjected to injustice all around the world and talked about the difficulties she faced because of her gender. In her personal life, she experienced oppression during her adolescence and early adulthood related to her gender. In her literary career, she did not get attention from the community or the media when she was prosecuted the way male writers did in the same situation. Despite being a feminist who places importance on women's financial independence, she also considers the difficulties men face in society.

Ağaoğlu demonstrated her strong feelings against the government by giving examples of how the government interfered with her personal life, creative work, and her career as a dramaturge at the TRT (Turkish Radio Television Company), which included an attack on her specifically as a woman. Noting that the government created fear and foreign enemies to produce solidarity in society, she pointed out that the government targeted her because she addressed taboos directly without fear.

Ağaoğlu presented her experiences and social classes in Turkey in relation to three locations. Istanbul, which she always talked about positively, is the big city

representing a higher social level (city-people), modernism, the Republic, and her mother; her hometown, Nallıhan, where her social status as well as her emotional experience varied; and Ankara, where she was seen as part of a lower social class and was thus belittled by others at school. She added, however, that such negative experiences were productive for her creativity.

Ağaoğlu's personality traits that became apparent were outspokenness and rebelliousness, shyness and introversion, skepticism, love for learning, and love for reading and literature. In another interview, she noted that she had never fit into society which often led her to consider suicide (Aygündüz, 2004). As a child, Ağaoğlu loved going to school and fought with her parents to continue her education. She gained one important thing from the school's curriculum, when she read Descartes' *Discourse on Method* for a class which led her to feel enlightened.

Section 3: Mario Levi

Mario Levi is an acclaimed storywriter and novelist who has focused primarily on minorities living in Istanbul and their personal and social issues (Çakıroğlu & Yalçın, 2003). He has won the 1990 Haldun Taner Story Award and the 2000 Yunus Nadi Novel Award. He has been teaching various creative writing workshops and he has led the creative writing program at the MIM Art Center (*MIM Sanat Atolyesi*) since 2005 (<http://www.mimsanat.org/>). He is also a lecturer at the Yeditepe University in Istanbul.

Although Levi has been acclaimed for his novels and stories, he has also written articles (especially during his days as a newspaper journalist), essays, and reviews that have appeared in newspapers and magazines (for his publications see, Table 11). He has been a guest speaker at various events, such as the lecture series at the Vancouver Institute (October 2006) and the European Day of Jewish Culture Conference held in Istanbul (2005).

Table 11

Levi's Creative Products

Novels:	
Title	Publication Year
İstanbul Bir Masaldır (Istanbul Is A Fairy Tale)	1999
Lunapark Kapandı (The Amusement Park Is Closed)	2005
Storybooks:	
Title	Publication Year
(Bir Şehre Gidememek (Unable to Go to a City)	1990
Madam Floridis Dönemeyebilir (Madame Floridis May Not Return)	1990
En Güzel Aşk Hikayemiz (Our Most Beautiful Love Story)	1992
Monograph:	
Title	Publication Year
Bir Yalnız Adam (A Man Alone/ A Lonely Man)	1986
Compilation of Articles and Reviews:	
Title	Publication Year
Yaz Yağmuruydu (It Was A Summer Rain)	2005

Levi has been known for his literary approach primarily based on his identity as a member of the Jewish community in Turkey (Gürsel, 2002). He has brought a new perspective to Turkish literature by presenting the lives of the Jewish-Turkish community, which had not been represented in literature before (Gürsel, 2002; Karadoğan, 1999). It has been suggested that Mario Levi is possibly “the first modern Turkish-language writer who has openly flaunted his Jewish identity” (Gürsel, 2002, p. 272). His most acclaimed work, *İstanbul Bir Masaldır (Istanbul Is A Fairy Tale, 1999)*

has been renowned for its unique presentation of Istanbul's cultural richness, where different religions, cultures, and dimensions co-exist (Karadoğan, 1999).

Biographical Information

Mario Moris Levi was born in Istanbul in 1957 (Çakıroğlu & Yalçın, 2003). After graduating from Saint Michel High School in 1975, he started attending Istanbul University where he studied French and Roman Language and Literature (Çakıroğlu & Yalçın, 2003). That same year he started writing stories that focused on minorities living in Istanbul (Çakıroğlu & Yalçın, 2003). His education at the university continued until 1980, after which he taught French at the Beyoğlu Anatolian High School for a year (Çakıroğlu & Yalçın, 2003). After completing his military service, he lived in England for a year to improve his English.

Levi returned to Istanbul and worked at his grandfather's import agency of medical devices for about ten years, during which he wrote and worked as a journalist. His first publication was an essay in the Shalom newspaper on Kafka's *Metamorphoses* in 1984 and afterwards, his stories, essays, and reviews appeared in several national newspapers and magazines (Çakıroğlu & Yalçın, 2003). He directed the culture-art section of the Shalom (*Şalom*) newspaper published for the Jewish-Turkish community in 1984 and 85. In 1991 and 1992, he worked as a professional freelance journalist for the newspaper Arena, where he was both a columnist and the director of the culture-art section. In 1993, he ended his career in trade and started writing commercials for an agency. He also worked at the television station TRT-3 and the radio station *Açık Radyo* where he created and broadcasted programs on world music.

In 1998, he started lecturing in the Communications Department (Public Relations) at the Yeditepe University in Istanbul (Çakıroğlu & Yalçın, 2003). In addition to teaching various creative writing workshops, he has been leading the creative writing program at the MIM Art Center (*MIM Sanat Atolyesi*) since 2005 (<http://www.mimsanat.org/>). Divorced, he has twin daughters who were born in 1989. He currently lives in Istanbul.

Home Environment

Levi was born and raised in Istanbul, Turkey's largest city and seaport, which lies upon a triangular peninsula between Asia and Europe, connecting the two continents with the Sea of Marmara and the famous Bosphorus Bridge (Encyclopædia Britannica, 2007e). The primary manufactures of the city, which is the center of Turkey's industry, are cement, glass, flour milling, tobacco, and textiles. It is also a very popular destination for tourists from all around the world. While the population of the legally registered inhabitants, which excludes those living in slums, was found to be just below 9,000,000 in 2000, it is estimated that today there are approximately 13,000,000 people living in Istanbul (Encyclopædia Britannica, 2007e).

The Interview

On July 5th, 2007, I went into an apartment building that stood out among the rest of the buildings on that street, as it had been renovated to keep its original, classical-Turkish style with bay windows and bright colors. The door of Mario Levi's flat was opened by two young girls. I was taken aback when I saw them as they were identical twins, who were, I found out later, Levi's daughters. Mr. Levi came to greet me and led

me to his study for our interview. Although the flat was not big, its walls were extremely high and Levi took advantage of these walls by decorating them with various pieces of artwork. The flat looked like a small museum and his study, filled with books and paintings, had large windows with the view of the Bosphorus. Our interview lasted for about an hour during which Levi was enthusiastic and friendly and expressed great interest in my project.

Data Analysis

The interview yielded the categories *definitions of creativity, participant as a creative writer, negativity's impact on creativity, Levi's childhood and adolescence, influential people, education, literature in Turkey today and home environment*. One category that emerged was broader and consisted of Levi's comments on the socio-political events of the 1970s and 80s in Turkey, Levi's generation's political activities during the 1970s, generational relationships, the government's impact, and how creativity was influenced by all these factors (see Table 12). Although one category, *home environment*, did not emerge in our interview, it emerged in other interviews, and since it is closely related to this study and an important part of the participant as a writer, it is included in the findings.

Explanations of the categories are presented with examples of incidents (quotes) and incidents that were repeated more than once are presented with the number of repetition. Comparisons with former interviews are also presented.

Table 12

Findings on Levi

Category	Brief Information	Number of stanzas
1. Definitions of creativity	Levi presents his definitions of creativity.	2
2. Participant as a creative writer	Levi talks about his own creativity and explains how he approaches his creative work.	2*
3. Negativity's impact on creativity	Levi points out that negativity in life can lead to creativity, which can also be used to deal with negativities.	9
4. Levi's childhood and adolescence	Levi was a "nonadaptive," shy, and unhappy child and teenager who loved literature.	4
5. Influential people	Levi notes that a teacher influenced his creativity and that lovers inspire creativity.	2
6. Education	Levi emphasizes his aversion to the education system especially because it hinders creativity.	2
7. The impact of socio-political events and the government on the community and creativity	Levi explains his generation's experience with socio-political events, generational relationships, the government's impact, and how all this influenced creativity.	5*
8. Literature in Turkey today	Levi presents mixed feelings about Turkish literature after the 1970s.	2
9. Home environment	Levi's hometown, Istanbul, greatly inspired him.	**

Notes. * Stanza is long and extensive.

** Indicated in other interviews.

1. Definitions of Creativity

Levi presents three definitions of creativity and presents his views on creativity in two stanzas, one of which is prompted by me. He emphasizes that creativity involves asking questions and taking risks by pointing it out twice. Twice, he suggests that the desire to express one's self can lead to creative productivity. He also notes that romantic love can stimulate creativity. In other interviews, he suggested that one needed to work patiently to develop as a writer (e.g., Ercan, 2005).

In response to my first question, "How would you define creativity?" Levi presents his first definition of creativity.

First of all, searching for yourself. It is showing the courage to ask questions in the course of this search-for-self. And at the same time, a new answer—it is believing that you have found, or can find a new answer to these questions... find (answers) by putting yourself out there.

He then presents his other two definitions of creativity: “It is the endeavor to bring a different point of view. And at the same time it is definitely taking the risk of danger. That is what creativity is for me.”

Levi suggests that creativity is a way for one to be able to state one’s own opinion: “They search for means to express themselves and they want to say ‘I’m here.’” For example, he used his creativity to deal with feeling different from others because of his cultural background and religious affiliation.

Later on in the interview, while talking about people who have affected him, he suggests that romantic love can stimulate creativity.

I believe that there is a very important creativity in the state of being in love (*aşk*). I believe that every stage of being in love, every step impacts creativity. Its beginning, (its) duration, (its) aftermath—(it) always affects. Passionate love (*aşk*) is a rather strong emotion. Although I am 50 years old, I still believe in this. I never lost my belief in this (passionate) love. This is very important.

In his interview with Ercan (2005), Levi suggested that becoming a writer required patience; one needed time to practice, make mistakes, learn, and develop. This was why he waited from 1975, when he first started writing fiction, until 1990 to publish

his first storybook *Unable to Go to a City*. It was only by 1990 that he felt that his stories had reached a certain level of maturity (Ercan, 2005).

2. Participant as a Creative Writer

Levi talks about his own creativity and explains how he approaches his creative work in two extensive stanzas, one of which is prompted by me. He notes that style and the creation of language are two important elements of his creativity, each of which he stresses twice. He points out that he focuses on people who did not conform to society and rules, like himself.

When I ask how Levi sees his own creativity, he emphasizes his writing:

The creativity within me—of course my creativity, if one can talk about a creativity, is a creativity that emerged through writing. Because everyone has a field in which they bring forth their creativity. For me this field is writing.

He then goes on to two elements that are important to his creative work: the style of writing and the creation of language. Regarding style, he notes,

Although it is very important to bring your own perspective to literature, although content is very important, for our writers today, the truly important (element) is how something is told (*neyin nasıl anlatıldığı*). That's what I believe.

He points out that his creativity “emerges in language.”

I believe that my true field of creativity is language. I mean, I can say this, (it) is the endeavor to bring a new dimension to the language one expresses oneself with. It is the endeavor to bring language further—at least, the endeavor to find

one's (own) language... Because with this language I am building my own field; I am building my own world. That's why I only find my creativity—in addition to content, or more than content—in my search in language. I'm trying to reconstruct language.

While in other interviews (e.g., Ayan, 2001; Ercan, 2005), Levi has talked about the influence of his Jewish-Turkish heritage, in our follow-up interview, Levi revealed that it was not only people of the same heritage that impacted his literary work, but people who did not conform to society, like himself: "Everyone who had a story in me; everyone who awoke a desire to write, a need to write. I preferred people who had difficulty fitting into society and the system; for me, these people have a story." This suggests that people's social or ethnic background is not what interests Levi, but their experience as people who do not conform.

3. Negativity's Impact on Creativity

Levi presents negativity, a word he repeats 15 times in the interview, as a driving factor for creativity in nine stanzas. He points out that negativity in social and personal experiences leads to creativity and that one can choose to use creativity to deal with negativity. He emphasizes the crucial role of negativity twice by noting it "provokes (literal translation, whips) creativity." None of his comments were prompted by me.

When asked about factors that have influenced the development of his creativity, Levi presents his theory that negative feelings prompted creativity.

There are two reasons. One is a personal dimension, the other is a societal dimension. In the root of both of them is a negativity. From here I can continue

like this: *If* I had had a happy childhood and a happy adolescence, I wouldn't have become a writer—my creativity now wouldn't have been provoked (literally “whipped”; *kamçılanmayacaktı*) this way. Or if I had had a life that was compatible/harmonious with my environment and the setting I was in, if there hadn't been a negativity, again, these (things) would not have happened... I always say grief, rage are very creative. Then another kind of energy comes to a person... I constantly tell my students—my creative writing students—“If you have had some traumas, some grief in your life, you must face them head-on. Because each of them is a gift to you... It is there (where the pain is) that is the deepest place. Your creativity is hidden in your deepest pain.”

He presents the “societal dimension of negativity” and his experiences as a minority.

As for the societal dimension—it is completely—you already feel different because of your cultural and religious roots. Despite your efforts not to face such a reality, at some point you feel like some kind of an outcast (*dışlanmışlık*). *Here* (in this situation) you also want to say, “I'm here... Many of you see me as a quote unquote ‘foreigner’ but look at this.” In the beginning are all these things, these worries.

It is interesting that although Levi is talking about his own personal experience, he refrains from using the first person pronoun, which may reflect the depersonalization he feels or his unwillingness to expand upon personally painful memories. In his interview with Gürsel (2002), he talked specifically about his identity as a Jewish-Turkish

individual, noting, “Yes, I am Jewish... Being Jewish is being, everywhere, a stranger” (p. 272).

Levi explains that one can choose to use one’s creativity to deal with the negative factors in life.

These things (negativities [*olumsuzluklar*]) accumulate... Then you try to hold on to something to overcome this (negativity)... Because as I experienced some obstacles and problems, various complexes appeared within me naturally. People can either deal with these complexes or not. But they search for something to (help them) deal with (these complexes)... I can even say this, there have been many situations in which I have healed myself by writing. There is a sort of—how can I say—masochistic state here. I mean, taking pleasure from that grief, but at the same time, channeling that grief to some other place... You can live grief in two ways. One way is that you take refuge in that grief... You take shelter in that grief and you give up the fight. The second way (of living grief) is transforming that grief into creativity. Accepting it as a gift and turning it into creativity. I choose the second option.

In his interview with Ayan (2001), Levi noted that writing provided him with a certain protection, a state where no one could deceive or betray him. He emphasized that the writing was the only cure for his sadness and that he could quit anything else but writing (Ayan, 2001).

4. Levi’s Childhood and Adolescence

Levi emphasizes that he was a shy child and teenager who did not fit in with the others in four stanzas, none prompted by me. He uses the word “nonadaptive” (*uyumsuz* which can mean nonadaptive or unharmonious) four times and “introverted” two times to describe himself as a child and adolescent. He notes that he was unhappy during these periods of his life and that he did not care for school work as a teenager. In another interview, he said he had had a “love for writing” from very early on in his life (Ayan, 2001).

While talking about factors that impacted his creativity, Levi points out, “I grew up as a child who was alone. I had a nonadaptive childhood and adolescence, whose marks are consequently continuing—their effects are continuing.” Noting that he was an only child, he says he “didn’t easily communicate with the outer world.”

Later, while talking about a teacher, he points out his indifference to school and his emotional state as a teenager.

It was Monsieur Pierre, he affected me a lot in a positive way. Because this miserable adolescence was affecting my life and my introversion was continuing. I wasn’t a child who was successful in his classes either. And honestly I didn’t care about it.

He notes that he did not participate in school events that focused on writing and describes himself as “lacking individuality.”

I wasn’t—you know in middle school and high school, there are school newspapers, magazines—they copy them with copiers. My pieces didn’t appear

in school newspapers either—there was this sort of lack of individuality (indistinctness; *siliklik*).

In his interview with Ayan (2001), Levi pointed out that he had had a “love for writing” from very early on in his life. He enjoyed reading and when he was in middle school, he kept a journal and started writing a novel. Later on in college, he started writing stories systematically.

5. Influential People

Levi talks about people who had an influence on his creativity in two stanzas, both of which were prompted by me. The first person he presents is a teacher from high school whose importance he emphasizes in both stanzas. He notes that there were people who had a negative impact on him emotionally, but a positive impact creatively, since, he points out, feelings such as sadness and anger stimulate creativity. In another interview, he noted that in the beginning of his writing career, although he had some guidance, he needed to find his own way in his craft (Ercan, 2005).

When I ask about people who impacted his creativity, Levi presents a teacher: “Let me speak about a person who had a positive impact—who comes first (in the list). My teacher of French Literature and Philosophy at Saint Michel High School. It was Monsieur Pierre, he affected me a lot in a positive way.” He explains how his teacher whom he had as a junior in high school encouraged him and gave him confidence in writing.

Because this miserable adolescence was affecting my life and my introversion was continuing. I wasn’t a child who was successful in his classes either. And

honestly I didn't care about it. But all of a sudden I saw that I was receiving grades that I had never received before in my Literature and Philosophy classes; 8, 9, 10 over 10. I started asking myself, "I wonder if there's something here?" I can say that my belief in my authorship kind of started like that. For this reason, of course, today I remember him with great gratitude. He is still alive, may he have a long life. I mean, these are very important for me. Monsieur Pierre is very important to me...

He then talks about people who had a negative impact on him:

...As for negative impact—there are many people who've had negative impact. Everyone who enrages me; everyone who hurts me; everyone who makes me sad... For example, maybe old lovers whom I've hurt and who may have hurt me.

Then, however, he explains how romantic love is an instigating factor in creativity (also presented under the category *negativity's impact on creativity*). In order to clarify, I ask whether people who hurt him, such as ex-girlfriends, pushed him to write, to which he replies, "Could it not (push me to write)? I owe many of my stories, lines, pages to the feeling and hurt of those break-ups." Thus, although my question focused on people who influenced his creativity, while talking about people who had a negative impact, he does not talk about those who impacted his creativity, but his emotional status. In fact, people who had a negative impact on him emotionally prompted him to write more. Thus, these people, such as ex-girlfriends, had a positive impact on his creativity.

Later, I go back to Levi's teacher and ask about his dialogue with him.

Emphasizing that his teacher instigated his interest in writing, he explains,

There was (a dialogue). Everything started on its own. All of a sudden I started getting high grades on the compositions I wrote and in class. And one time he said to me, "At the teachers' meeting many teachers were saying that you were in fact an unsuccessful student; but I, to the contrary, showed them your compositions, and your this, and your that"—by saying such things he encouraged me even more... What's important is this: Monsiuer Pierre lit the spark that I can go towards success through writing. That's what was important.

In another interview, he noted that in the beginning of his writing career, although he naturally had "experts in the field" who helped him either directly or through writing, he had to "become his own expert through trying, searching, and making mistakes" (Ercan, 2005, p. 26).

6. Education

Levi presents his views on education in two stanzas, one of which was prompted by me. He emphasizes that he strongly disapproves the education system and that it does not allow creative productivity at all.

When I ask whether there had been anything positive or negative in his education that impacted his creativity (other than the teacher he mentioned, who is presented under the category *influential people*), Levi's immediate response is, "no." But then he considers for a little bit and he remembers another teacher—his teacher of Turkish

Literature when he was a sophomore in high school—who also showed interest in him and his writing. However, his experience at school was, in general, negative.

Very very—it has always been a negativity. In my school life—in my memories of elementary school, middle school, and high school—the feeling (it has left in me) is negativity... I also perceived being a student as oppression.

While noting that these experiences were possibly also related to his introversion, he points out that no one tried to help him.

When asked whether education in Turkey strengthens creativity or not, he expresses his aversion to the education system.

Generally, when I look at the education system, when I look at the curriculum, and (I know them) closely—I know from my daughters—they just finished high school this year. When I see these, I can say very easily, without having a guilty conscience, claim that the Turkish Education System kills creativity. I can easily claim that it does not leave an open door for creativity *in any way*. I am underlining this with a thick pen... For example, this system of multiple-choice tests on its own extinguishes both creativity and critical thinking. And the system produces nothing but robots... I can say this easily, the Turkish Education System does not need a reform; it needs to be demolished. It needs to be demolished and then reconstructed.

He notes that although there are some people who are trying to improve Turkish education, “the system itself does not allow it.”

Towards the end of the interview, when I ask about his daughters, he briefly mentions education again: “They finished their 17th year (of age); they are 18 years old. This year there’s the nuisance of the *ÖSS* (university entrance exam); of course now there is the nuisance of registration. I wouldn’t want to be them. What can we do? What can we do? So be it.”

7. The Impact of Socio-Political Events and the Government on the Community and Creativity

In five elaborate stanzas, Levi talks about socio-political events during the 1970s and 80s, the government’s impact, three generations and their relationships, and how creativity was influenced by all these factors. The three generations he refers to are the generation of ’68, the generation of ’78 (his generation), and the generation of ’80. As explained in Chapter II, “the generation of ’78” usually includes those who experienced the ultimatum of 1971, which in practice was a coup, were in college in 1978, and were young adults during the coup of 1980 (Başkal, 2003). “The generation of ’68” on the other hand, refers to those who experienced the coup of 1960, were in college in 1968, got involved in student demonstrations, and were young adults during the ultimatum of 1971 (Başkal, 2003).

Levi explains how the generation of ’78, with all of its ideals and desires for change, followed the generation of ’68 (emphasized three times) and how the socio-political atmosphere and experiences of the 1970s and 80s stimulated creativity (emphasized three times). He also notes that the government severed the ties between the generation of ’80 and former generations, leaving him with a feeling that his generation

and the one before have been forgotten (emphasized twice). Levi also suggests that the way conflicts influenced creativity and creative productivity depended on their level or intensity.

Remembering his college years, Levi presents his generations' dreams and aspirations.

I went to the Istanbul University...between 1975 and 80. Those were the days when we were right in the political fight... Of course in those days we had entered into another (kind of) excitement. Changing Turkey, changing the world—we had such high ideals. We entered history as the generation of '78... Changing Turkey, making it a fairer Turkey, making it a more independent Turkey—we had such ambitions... Because there was an excitement—there was a rebellion.

He notes that the politically charged atmosphere was also creatively inspiring.

Of course, that political atmosphere also presented a different kind of creative environment... That fight, that excitement to change Turkey impacted our creativity greatly... It was a rebellion, a defiance. We were saying “We don't want a Turkey like this (Turkey to be like this).” This fight itself was of course creative as well.

He repeatedly refers to the generation of '68 as pioneers and shows his respect for them before by calling them “elder brother” (*abi*) and “elder sister” (*abla*), which can be used as a sign of respect for older friends or acquaintances. For example, in one

instance, he notes, “Our older brothers (*abilerimiz*) are the generation of 68. Actually, we followed in their footsteps.”

When I ask how the coup of 1980 influenced his creativity, he says after the coup, he experienced a “dark period” lasting two or three years during which he could not write. He notes that the reason for this phase included both the country’s socio-political climate and personal issues, such as graduating from college and searching for work. However, befitting his theory about the importance of “negativity” for creative productivity, he suggests that the “dark period” was a preparation for his following creative productivity.

At this point in the interview, I become curious about the impact of the coup as a source of “negativity” on creativity. When I ask whether the coup and the events afterwards led to rebellion and increased creativity, he answers, “No, at that time it was not possible to do such a thing. It (rebellion) was completely out of the question then... Yes, I can say that easily.” He then adds that the overall environment of the early 1980s led to the emergence of several important writers. Thus, his responses suggest that although there was no room to express a reaction through creativity right after the coup, the national oppression did prompt creativity which became apparent as martial law loosened up, partially free elections were held in 1983, and writers were able to write more freely. He also emphasizes the importance of experiencing the events of the 1970s, in addition to experiencing the coup of 1980.

Levi points out that the coup of 1980 and the military government not only “killed” the ideals and ambitions of his generation, but also separated the generation of

'80 from his generation: "...Especially after the coup of 12 September, in the 1980s...we were seriously torn away from your generation. In fact many 20-year olds who aren't interested in the subject seem to us like they are from another history and another country." His observation is supported by articles and books on Turkish history (e.g., Saktanber, 2002; Zurcher, 2004) that suggest that the events during and after the coup of 1980 severed the ties between Turkish youth and politics more than the military interventions of 1960 and 1971. Levi further explains how the following generations were distanced from politics.

In the 80s, a certain wave swept around the world and that wave came to Turkey as well. That was the period when Ronald Reagan came to power in the United States and Margaret Thatcher came to power in England. Something called "Reaganism and Thatcherism" appeared. The goal was depoliticizing young people; distancing them from politics and indoctrinating them with other values.

Their branch in Turkey was Turgut Özal. Something like this happened...

He emphasizes the difference between the experiences of his generation and the next: "But I know it very well. I mean, the children of those who were in the political fight like us are listening to the things we experienced as if they were a fairy tale." He says that the younger generation's ambivalence to past and present socio-political issues and events makes him feel lonely, like a stranger, and adds, "It wounds me...to see that in an era some people put up a fight and now nobody knows about it."

Since Levi pointed out earlier that the socio-political environment of the 1960s and 70s led to creativity, I ask if the current political tensions in Turkey (at the time of

the interview, July 2007, the country was getting ready for elections) would push younger generations towards politics or prompt creativity. He answers,

I don't think that this situation pushes, or can push, young people to politics... Of course we are generalizing here; there are exceptions. But I think that many people don't even care about this situation... I know that surveys are being given to many young people today—for example, university students...when asked “What is your biggest concern?” you cannot get a societal response from any of—let's say, most of them. The answer is, “Am I going to be able to find a job in the future?” It has that simple. But is this more realistic? It is. When we were at university, if someone had asked us (that question), we would have said, “How will the Turkey of the future be?” and “Will there be a revolution, or not?” We would have given answers similar to that.

8. Literature in Turkey Today

In two stanzas, one of which was prompted by me, Levi presents mixed feelings about recent literature and writers in Turkey. Although he does not think writers of the same quality as those from the generation of '78 have emerged since the 1980s, he notes that there is a desire to write that he has observed in his creative writing workshops, which has given him hope.

Expressing his doubt regarding the current situation of Turkish Literature, Levi makes a comparison between the writers of the generation of 78' and writers of later generations.

...Did other writers appear after that (1980s)? Yes, they did, and they continue appearing. Moreover, very good writers emerged. But still I believe that writers who emerged in the 70s and writers carrying the spirit of the 70s who emerged later on—I'm including myself here—are better than those who emerged later... Are there going to be writers as good as the ones I mentioned among those born in 1980 or the 80s, I'm not sure. To be honest, I'm without hope.

However later, when I ask about his creative writing course and others, Levi presents a more optimistic perspective.

Good, there are (such creative writing courses). I can say this, we've presented a scene, it seems dark, it seems gloomy, but it's not so dark when we look at some aspects. Because I can say this, despite all of this environment—despite the environment we are in—there is a pursuit of writing, there is a excitement for writing/ a writing excitement (*yazma heyecanı*). There is a pursuit of self-expression through writing. Of course this is wonderful.

Noting that the age of his students in his creative writing workshops range from 15 to 60, he emphasizes how excited he is about their desire to write.

(The different age groups) excite one for different reasons and all of them are trying to write. This gives great hope and I take great pleasure from sharing this with them. I take *great* pleasure (from it)...This is important. This is a beautiful side (literally “face;” *yüzü*) of Turkey.

9. Home Environment

Although he does not talk about this subject in our interview, in other interviews Levi has emphasized the importance of his hometown, Istanbul, for him and his creativity. In his interview with Ercan (2005), Levi explained how his great love for Istanbul has impacted his written work and gave the example of *Istanbul Is A Fairy Tale* (1999), where he wrote about “the people of...his city to which he is passionately committed” (p. 17). In his interview with Ayan (2001), he noted, “I have always felt that I belong to Istanbul. My bond with Istanbul, my relationship with Istanbul is one of passion.” As for the reason of his passion, he said that it is the city that has made him what he is.

Summary

In our interview, categories focused on definitions of creativity, Levi as a creative writer, education, Levi’s childhood and adolescence, influential people in his life, literature in Turkey today, and home environment. He emphasized the relationship between “negativity” and creativity and talked extensively about socio-political issues during the 1970s and 80s, the government (the coup of 1980 and its aftermath), and three generations, including his own.

According to Levi, creativity has three definitions: It is the search of one’s self and asking questions; it is the endeavor to present a different viewpoint; and it is taking risks. He repeatedly emphasized that “negativity” in personal and societal dimensions had a crucial role in the instigation of creativity and that one could choose to use creativity to deal with negativity. Emphasizing the importance of the style of writing and

the creation of language in his creative work, he noted that the desire to state one's opinion could lead to creative productivity. In other interviews, he suggested that one needed to work patiently to develop as a writer (e.g., Ercan, 2005). Levi expressed mixed feelings about recent literature and writers in Turkey. While on one hand, he thought that the quality of the writers of the generation of '78 would remain unparalleled, he also observed a desire for writing that gave him hope.

As the most important person who had impacted his creativity, Levi presented a high school teacher who encouraged him and gave him confidence in writing. Although he had some experts who helped him in the beginning of his writing career, he worked alone and developed his skills through trial and error (Ercan, 2005). People who had a negative impact on him emotionally had an indirect positive impact on his creativity, since his feelings led to creative productivity. In other interviews, he pointed out that his love for his hometown, Istanbul, has impacted his creativity greatly (e.g., Ayan, 2001; Ercan, 2005).

Levi repeatedly expressed his admiration for his generation's politically charged spirit in the 1970s and his displeasure with the military government after the coup of 1980, which destroyed his generations' dreams and depoliticized the following generations. He suggested that the way conflicts influenced creativity and creative productivity depended on their level or intensity; for example, although there was no room for creative thought right after the coup of 1980, the oppression prompted creativity which was expressed later after the oppression diminished. Pointing out his aversion for the Turkish education system, he stated that it destroyed creativity.

Section 4: Latife Tekin

A quarter Kurdish, a quarter Arab, and half Turkish, writer Latife Tekin is an acclaimed novelist and storywriter who is known for her unique style and use of magic realism (Books And Arts, 2001; Çakıroğlu & Yalçın, 2003; Kalfus, 1993). Her first book *Dear Shameless Death* (*Sevgili Arsız Ölüm*, 1983) received much acclaim and brought her great popularity (Çakıroğlu & Yalçın, 2003). Also a political activist, Tekin was a part of the most prominent feminist group in the 1970s, the Association of Progressive Women (*Ilerici Kadınlar Derneği*, 1975-1980) (Koçali, 2002).

Three of Tekin's novels (*Dear Shameless Death*, *Berji Kristin: Tales from the Garbage Hills*, and *Swords of Ice*) have been translated and published in England by Marion Boyars Publishers (for her publications, see Table 13). *Berji Kristin* has also been translated and printed in the U.S., Italy, France, Germany, Sweden, and Holland (Çakıroğlu & Yalçın, 2003). In addition to novels and a storybook, she wrote the scenario of the film *A Sip of Love* (*Bir Yudum Sevgi*, 1984) and received the Golden Orange Award at the 22nd Annual Antalya Film Festival and the award for best film at the International Istanbul Cinema Days in 1984 (Çakıroğlu & Yalçın, 2003; Özer, 2005).

Table 13

Tekin's Creative Products

Novels:	
Title	Publication Year
Sevgili Arsız Ölüm (Dear Shameless Death)	1983
Berci Kristin Çöp Masalları (Berji Kristin: Tales from the Garbage Hills)	1984
Gece Dersleri (Night Lessons)	1986
Buzdan Kılıçlar (Swords of Ice)	1989
Aşk İşaretleri (Signs of Love)	1995
Ormanda Ölüm Yokmuş (Apparently There Is No Death in the Forest)	2001
Muinar (Muinar)	2006
Storybook:	
Title	Publication Year
Gümüşlük Akademisi (Gümüşlük Academy)	1997
Film Scenario:	
Title	Year
Bir Yudum Sevgi (A Sip of Love)	1984

Tekin has used her personal experiences to depict the lives and cultures of villagers living in slums in and around big cities, as her family also lived in such slums after migrating to Istanbul (Altinel, 1993; Çakıroğlu & Yalçın, 2003). As a novelist, Tekin has focused on these people who have been trapped between the rural and the urban. Her first novel, *Dear Shameless Death* (1983), which is about her village Karacafenk, has been viewed an expression of social issues in Turkey, focusing on the difference between the rich and the poor (Kalfus, 1993).

Tekin has also been widely known for her magic realism (Books And Arts, 2001; Kalfus, 1993) and her use of humor and playful exaggeration (Altinel, 1993). Reviewers

have commented that her metaphorical prose where talking flowers or spirits are as real as people is reminiscent of writers such as Gabriel Garcia Marquez (e.g., Gün, 1986). Her unique use of language makes her the direct successor of Central Asian Turkish nomads with their tradition of riddles, jokes, adventures, rumors, and laments (Gün, 1993).

Tekin started the House of Literature of the Gümüşlük Academy Foundation, a camp-like site dedicated to the collaboration of those interested in arts, philosophy, sciences, and the environment (www.gumuslukakademisi.org). The Academy, which has been active since 1995, is located on the hills of the town of Gümüşlük (near Bodrum, southwest of Turkey on the Aegean coast), with lodging and necessary provisions, where people can stay and work on various collaborative projects. Tekin also lives there and works as one of the main coordinators of the academy.

Biographical Information

Novelist Tekin was born in 1957 in the village Karacafenk in the province of Kayseri. Her mother was half Kurdish and half Arab, while her father was Turkish (Özer, 2005). She had a large family with seven siblings. Both of her parents had been married before and each had a daughter from the previous marriages. Thus, Tekin has two older sisters who did not grow up with her. She grew up with four other siblings, with whom she shared both parents. The oldest of the five is a girl, followed by two boys, then Tekin, then the youngest brother.

Tekin lived in the village until she was nine when her family moved to Istanbul in search of work (Altinel, 1993; Çakıroğlu & Yalçın, 2003). In fact, her family was a

part of the mass migration from villages to big cities, especially Istanbul, that began in the 1950s and reached its peak in the 1960s and 1970s (Büker, 2002). Although families migrated in hopes of work and a better life, most of them could not find work and were faced with poverty, which led to the large area of slums in and around Istanbul (Ahmad, 2003; Büker, 2002). Tekin's family was one of them; her father and three brothers worked as unskilled laborers, while she attended school (Gün, 1986).

Tekin became involved with the leftist political movement after high school and worked at various jobs, the longest being at the Telephone Director General's Office (Özer, 2005). She got married when she was 18 and had her first child, a son, in 1979. Later she got divorced, remarried, and had a daughter in 1992. She became a chapter leader of the most prominent feminist group in the 1970s, the Association of Progressive Women (*Ilerici Kadınlar Derneği*), which was shut after the coup of 1980, and was very active in the political movement (Koçali, 2002; Özer, 2005). In fact, the government refused to issue a passport to her until 1988 (Özer, 2005). Her first novel, *Dear Shameless Death* was published in 1983 and gained her extreme fame (Çakıroğlu & Yalçın, 2003). Literary critic Gün (1986) pointed out that Turkish readers were "enamoured" with Tekin's work (p. 278).

Dear Shameless Death is indeed a marvel, rich in imagery and so stunningly beautiful in language that one can see how it sets the Turkish imagination on fire, dazzling the collective memory of a nation with its own half-forgotten background. To find Tekin's unadulterated provincial tongue is not only

exhilarating to the soul but also reassuring to the mind that the language is not dead. (Gün, 1986, p. 278)

This marked the beginning of her career as a novelist, which also became her source of income (Özer, 2005).

In 1997, Tekin got involved with the project that would become the non-profit organization Gümüşlük Academy Foundation and moved to Bodrum to start the academy's House of Literature (Özer, 2005). The academy aims at bringing together arts, sciences, and the environment and includes a library, an indoor-outdoor museum, a cinema house, a cultural center with facilities for meetings, an amphitheater, laboratories, ateliers, studios, and guest houses. Today Tekin lives at the academy on the hills of Gümüşlük (near Bodrum, southwest of Turkey on the Aegean coast).

Home Environments

Tekin was born in Karacafenk, a small village which has not entered encyclopedias or Turkish governmental websites focusing on geographical regions and locations. It is in the province of Kayseri, which is located on a flat plain near the extinct volcano Mount Erciyes (ancient Mount Argaeus, 12,852 feet) (Encyclopædia Britannica, 2007f). The province Kayseri has a capital city, also called Kayseri. Lying 165 miles east-southeast of Ankara, it has a history that dates back to the 1st century BC. Kayseri specializes in the manufacture of textiles, carpets, home appliances, sugar, cement, and aircraft spare parts. The Erciyes University founded in 1978 is located here (Encyclopædia Britannica, 2007f).

When Tekin was nine, her family moved to Istanbul, where she lived until she moved to Gümüşlük in 1997. Istanbul, Turkey's largest city and seaport, lies upon a triangular peninsula between Asia and Europe, connecting the two continents with the Sea of Marmara and the famous Bosphorus Bridge (Encyclopædia Britannica, 2007e). The primary manufactures of the city, which is the center of Turkey's industry, are cement, glass, flour milling, tobacco, and textiles. It is also a very popular destination for tourists all around the world. While the population of the legally registered inhabitants, which excludes those living in slums, was found to be just below 9,000,000 in 2000, it is estimated that today there are approximately 13,000,000 people living in Istanbul (Encyclopædia Britannica, 2007e).

The Interview

My experience with this participant was different from those with the other participants in two ways. First, unlike the other participants, Tekin does not live in Istanbul which meant that I had to travel to the Gümüşlük Academy (near Bodrum) in order to interview her. Second, the day of the interview was full of unusual events, as I describe below.

After we had reached a consensus as to when the interview would take place, I bought my plane ticket to travel from Istanbul to Bodrum on July 16, 2007 and stay there for three days with family friends. July 17, 2007 was the day of our interview. That morning, Tekin called me on my cell phone and asked if we could meet at 4 pm instead of noon because the Jandarma, soldiers who work under the police force in small towns,

had raided the academy. I was completely baffled, since I had no idea why there would be a raid at the academy, and agreed.

Our friend drove me to Gümüşlük, a small, touristy town by the Aegean coast. Tekin called around 3.30 pm and said that although the Jandarma were not all gone, we could still come to the academy. We drove to the hills along which the academy rose. After parking, we saw an officer waiting in front of the entrance with a gun on his belt. He said that we could not enter, since an investigation was in process, but when I stated my purpose, he called the person in charge and got permission for us to enter. As we walked into the academy, I observed the several little huts, which are lodgings for the attendees and activity locations, such as the Arts House, Literature House, Cultural Center, and Graphic Atelier. The buildings almost blended with the trees, the grass, and flowers, and it was obvious the architectural design focused on the natural landscape and put the manmade elements in the background. The hill upon which the academy was built overlooked the sea, which created amazing scenery.

As we walked in, Tekin greeted us and apologized for the inconvenience. There were several officers in their 20s and 30s, some walking around, some sitting and talking, as well as a few journalists and television reporters. Tekin told us they were about to leave and waved at the officers, saying, “Thank you, kids;” they thanked her back. As the huts of the academy were scattered along a sloping hill, going from one place to another involved either walking up a small hill or climbing little wooden stairs. We followed Tekin uphill to her flat which was above the library of the academy. Her

door was open and the only wall exposed from the hill was made completely of glass, which created the feeling of still being outside in nature.

In spite of the fact that she had been through a lot that day, Tekin was still full of energy. Before the interview, Tekin showed my friend and me the various huts and outdoor areas of the academy while explaining what had happened. An anonymous phone call had given false information the Jandarma of some illegal activity in the academy and someone had also notified the press. This incident had been happening often, because of a grudge someone had against Tekin and the academy (I asked her about the event during our interview as well; reported under category *the situation of literature in Turkish society and lack of support*). Tekin said that even the Jandarma were tired of coming almost every week. The raid involved going into each hut and searching everything, and at that point, they had stopped searching her flat because they sympathized with her.

As we walked past one of the huts, we noticed that its door was open and a lady stepped out to greet us. The wife of a sculptor attending the academy, she was holding a bottle of bleach and it was obvious she had been crying. She had been traumatized by the raid; she had been sitting at home when the Jandarma came and started going through their closets, drawers, looking at everything they owned.

After walking around in the academy, we went up to Tekin's flat as she waved goodbye to the officers. The interview lasted for about an hour, during which my friend waited outside on the grounds of the academy.

Data Analysis

The categories that emerged from the interview, listed in Table 14, included broad categories related to the participant's views on the relationship between language, literature, and socio-political issues and her views on socio-political events and their impact on the community. The last category, *the situation of literature in Turkish society and lack of support* is different from the others, because the incidents (participant's comments) that fell under the category were specifically prompted by me. Because of the intriguing events that I witnessed on the day of the interview, I specifically asked about those events and thus led Tekin to talk about various issues that she may not have talked about if she had not been prompted.

Table 14

Findings on Tekin

Category	Brief Information	Number of stanzas
1. Tekin's personality	Five personality traits emerged.	10
2. Definitions of creativity	Tekin presents her views about creativity and its relationship with "the world" and nature.	8
3. Participant as a creative writer	Tekin talks about her own creativity and creative productivity in her private world.	11
4. The relationship between language, literature, and socio-political issues	Tekin explains the social and political dimension of her writing and notes that language and literature have a social dimension.	10*
5. Influential people	Tekin talks about some family members.	5
6. Education	Tekin emphasizes her aversion to the education system and presents three criticisms.	9
7. Education and social classes	Tekin observes that in the past, education united different social classes, unlike today.	2
8. Socio-political events and their impact on the community	Tekin explains how socio-political events of the 1970s and 80s influenced the whole community.	7
9. Gender and its impact on society and social classes	Tekin explains how women are disadvantaged in society and her experiences related to her gender.	6*
10. Locations (the city and the village)	Tekin talks about her experiences in her village and then the city and how the influenced her creativity.	12
11. The situation of literature in Turkish society and lack of support	Tekin talks about issues such as the situation of literature in Turkish society, the lack of support from society and the government.	1**

Notes. * Stanza is long and extensive.

** I emphasized this topic because of the experiences of the day of the interview. This stanza is long and extensive.

1. Tekin's Personality

Tekin demonstrates five personality traits, including curiosity, suspicion, rebelliousness, love for reading and literature, and love for learning, in ten stanzas, all without my prompt. While she notes that she has a curious and suspicious personality

three times, she emphasizes that she is a rebellious woman who stands up for her rights and notes that she loved reading and literature as a child, twice.

Tekin points out that she was a curious person since childhood while talking about the different factors that impacted her creativity.

Dreams, sleep, nature—they are all things that nurture me greatly... But the most—what I know from childhood till today, an endless curiosity towards the world itself, towards what we are doing here...An endless curiosity since I was a child—I'm curious about the world while becoming spellbound (*büyülenerek merak ediyorum*). It's still like that.

She also notes that she has always had a curiosity towards literature as well.

Tekin comments that she is usually suspicious of people: “I have a reaction to people's experience; I have a disbelief. To this whole human adventure of becoming civilized... I feel a suspicion towards the things found and told by mankind.”

While talking about her brothers' restrictiveness, Tekin points out that she “fought back,” suggesting a rebellious nature. Later, when I ask whether her brothers would have continued putting pressure on her if she had not gotten married at 18, she answers,

To tell the truth, after fighting and fighting, I had finally gotten my freedom from my brothers—because I was very stubborn. I wasn't a girl who could be disciplined (*normalleştirmek*; turned into a traditionally accepted girl). They said it too, “The three of us couldn't deal with you” (Laughter). I used to run away.

Tekin notes that her love for reading and literature started as a child: “I started reading when I was very little and I used to read poems; later I started writing poems in middle school, high school... We read a lot in our youth, in our childhood. We read throughout the day.” She also says that she loved learning: “I was already such a hardworking child that I didn’t care about anything else but school. I constantly studied. Going to school gave me a lot of happiness.” However, she did not continue onto university, which is a decision she is content about, since she was able to experience life.

2. Definitions of Creativity

According to Tekin, creativity is directly related to nature or the world which is a mysterious and elusive living organism. She defines creativity as “giving the world an answer” (repeated six times) and emphasizes that writing involves the creation of another form, structure, and language. Overall, she presents the category *creativity* in eight stanzas. In our follow-up interview, she noted that one could overcome difficulties through creativity.

In response to my first question, “How would you define creativity?” Tekin says: Maybe, in fact, I define creativity as giving the world an answer. I mean, somehow answering the world which we see; forming a response to it; echoing (it)...Of course it’s not very easy to define creativity with a few sentences, but I’ve always felt something like that deep inside. Because we don’t know where we are but we are in the middle of something very magical and we also want to respond to the sounds and images that reach us.

Her answer also presents the world as a mysterious, unknown place that we cannot quite understand, which she repeats eight times. She also points out her view of the world as a living organism five times. When I ask her to clarify her comment, “We don’t know the place we’re in,” she responds,

Yes, I mean we don’t know where/what the world is. *We* call it “the World,” so the world doesn’t know its name is “World.” I don’t know how much the world is aware of our thoughts of the world, how much it feels it—I think that the world is a part of the universe which is, of course, living, endless, and which can be felt... There is a difference between the world itself and people’s image of the world. The world is in fact not the thing we perceive it to be.

Tekin presents her view of a high-quality piece of art, which is inherently tied into the world and nature as a whole.

I think that a good piece of artwork is something that is torn away from the rumbling noise of people and that is added to the infinity of the universe... A creative piece of artwork is truly something that joins nature’s silence, meaning the big adventure in the universe. I mean, I think art has such a meaning; I think creativity should have such a meaning.

Tekin emphasizes that writing focuses on the creation of another form, structure, and language.

I mean, in order to write...ultimately there needs to be a rupture, because you are creating another form of aesthetics....you need to tear away from your mother tongue, “home language” to be able to write...You are going to create a

structure, something as an aesthetic form, you are going to create an “upper-language/ über-language” (*üst dil*) and you are going to form something. For this (to happen) language has to transform into material—I mean, you are going to think about language.

In our follow-up interview, she explained that with “tearing away from one’s home language,” she meant looking at one’s language from a distance, like an outsider.

In her interview with Özer (2005), Tekin pointed out that creativity could become

a cure for a painful situation: “When the situation one’s in is extremely painful or sad, one can find relief in creating something opposite to that situation... Art has such a healing quality” (p. 94). I asked about this comment in our follow-up interview and she said that writing *Dear Shameless Death* (1983) in a period during which she was “emotionally very shattered/in pieces (*paramparça*)” helped her “feel as a whole.” She added, “One can overcome that pain by creating a work of art that is filled with happiness and (a sense of) wholeness (*bütünlüklü*).”

3. Participant as a Creative Writer

In 11 stanzas, Tekin presents how she views her own creativity in her private world, where issues related the external world do not impose. Emphasizing the importance of nature, she points out that she writes for nature, not people six times in the interview and she explains that she writes to find harmony. She notes that she keeps herself in a state between sleeping and waking while writing and shares her experiences as a young writer who became famous. In our follow-up interview, she pointed out that

she became extremely immersed with the book she was working on. In her interview with Özer (2005), Tekin talked about her experience while writing her first novel and how she did research for each novel. She also noted that, disliking repetition, she paid attention writing each novel with with a new style (Özer, 2005).

When I ask Tekin how she interprets her own creativity, she presents two categories of writers: Those who “write for people; meaning they want to establish direct contact with the reader” and those who write “to go beyond the experience of being human.” She notes that she fits the second category.

...Because people don't interest me that much on their own. The world (is) always more—I want to consider/think the world that we live on with all of the other living creatures that live on it... I mean, writing for people and looking at their adventure historically is not enough for me.

Thus, how she views herself as a creative writer is directly linked to her view of creativity in general as being related to nature and the world.

She explains the importance she places on nature:

...You know how they say, “One understands one's self with another person,” I think that in fact “No, one understands one's self with the whole world.” I mean, a mountain can be our face and a mountain can tell us something about our own identity, it can reflect something, which it does.... Rain forests can also reflect something to us, which they do.

When I ask Tekin about the factors that impacted the development of her creativity, her immediate response was nature. Noting that nature “nurtures” her creativity, she points out that nature is a great source of creative inspiration.

In one interview, I said “I’m writing for birds,” they laughed, but I was telling the truth, what I really felt. For the stars, for the birds, because we don’t only get the energy of the inspiration to write from people. There is an energy that comes from seas, mountains, birds, from everything—the sun, the sky.

Tekin suggests that people separate themselves from nature which leads them to lose their inner harmony, which is what she searches for while writing.

...Harmony is damaged within a person—maybe because (they) squeeze themselves into a multi-person story (a story saturated by humans), separating themselves from other beings, that side of them is also damaged; we start damaging that harmony starting from childhood throughout the process of growing up (*büyüme*). I see myself as a writer who searches for that harmony again, who searches for that silence.

Indeed, one of the motivations for Tekin to write is that she finds peace while writing.

After a certain age, I felt that I started writing to calm down the rumbling noise in my mind. Maybe at first I didn’t feel exactly that but after thinking about it—because my mind calms down the more I write—it’s that harmony—I want to have a harmony with all the other beings that are outside of me, outside of people.

Tekin notes that while writing, she pays attention to being in a state between sleeping and waking.

Always while I'm writing, I really want to keep myself somewhere between sleep and being awake. Because then my intuition is more open—you know, sleep and the unknown—almost as if many things that turn into secret during the day—our intuition is more open, our minds are more open. That's also why I want to write while trying to protect myself from the real world created by mankind.

In our follow-up interview, Tekin noted that while writing a book, she becomes greatly immersed in it.

Actually while I'm writing a book, I become so concentrated on (the story) I'm telling that that book's music, its rhythm almost becomes an inner-voice. In order to write something new, (I) need to separate from that voice, that language. Because one can repeat (what one's told). That's why I patiently wait for that book's feeling to be erased. I try to empty my mind to start something new... purifying my mind from that book.

It is important for Tekin to be able to separate herself from a novel before starting a new one, since, as she noted in her interview with Özer (2005), she paid great attention to varying the style of her novels because she got bored of repetition.

Tekin also shares her experiences as a creative writer who became famous as a novelist at the age of 26. She notes that it was difficult to be so young and inexperienced in a field where the majority of accomplished individuals were much older. She felt the

pressure of having to find answers to the questions and comments of people with much more life experience. Another difficulty of the situation was that her creative work was constantly scrutinized. On the other hand, the experience gave her a level of maturity beyond her years; it “simplified” her and let her “get over” her fame.

In her interview with Özer (2005), Tekin talked about her experience while writing her first novel. She explained that writing was like a seizure (Özer, 2005, p. 19) or a fire within her (Özer, 2005, p. 29). She was in a trance and could not stop writing—she could not even sleep: “I was so tired, I wanted to sleep but my mind was so active. My head did not stop...my body wanted to sleep but there was something that did not let me sleep, images in my mind, voices” (Özer, 2005, p. 37). This feverish experience lessened, but she still “remained loyal to her initial feeling and never saw ‘being a writer’ as having a job” (Özer, 2005, p. 29).

Tekin also commented on the extensive research she did for her novels (Özer, 2005). For example, while writing *Berji Kristin: Tales from the Garbage Hills* (1984), she went to numerous slums in and around Istanbul to talk to the people and she went to factories to listen to the workers who were protesting (Özer, 2005).

4. The Relationship Between Language, Literature, and Socio-Political Issues

While Tekin views her creativity as a way to find harmony and connect with nature, she also uses her creativity to express her opinion about socio-political events and writes with a full awareness of her own socio-economic background. Noting that language and literature have a social and political dimension twice in the interview, Tekin emphasizes her stance as a writer who focuses on the lives of poor people and

writes with the language of the poor people. She points out that she “owns up to her poverty” four times. As a person who uses her creative work to express her opinion about socio-political issues, which she points out four times, at one point in her life she was caught between her persona as a novelist and her persona as a leftist political activist. She notes that literature and writers had an important role in society after the coup of 1980. This category is made up of ten extensive stanzas.

Tekin suggests that there is a sense that literature belongs to the higher class and emphasizes how she has owned up to her past as someone coming from a poor background.

I think I had a lot of difficulty in the social (aspect) after the book was published, because... I want to write while protecting my poverty; I want to create literature, but literature has a social class quality—literature is aristocratic; it is the work of a higher class—poor people don’t know how to write; poor people don’t talk with concepts—(these are) the people I tell about, because I tell (the story) of poor people.

She indicates that language—the culture and the form in which different social classes express themselves—has a strong socio-political aspect dimension.

It comes from the (poor) people being deaf/language-less (*dilsiz*)—when I say deaf/language-less, I mean they don’t talk with concepts; they don’t talk about themselves; they are another class—more correctly, they are not even novel heroes... When you look at it like that—they are more like fairy tale people. So,

when you look at it like that, I'm telling/writing about those people—the people who migrated to the big cities.

After her first few novels were published, Tekin was criticized for writing with “that language” which was thought to be unfit for “a city book” or a novel: “They were in fact doing something like belittling that language and the poor people, and of course belittling me as a writer.” She explains that it was her attitude and her stance regarding social classes that caused such reactions. In her interview with Özer (2005), she noted that these were very difficult times for her that truly made her feel miserable. However, she had made a decision to write “with the language of her house” (Özer, 2005, p. 27) and she persisted.

Tekin repeatedly notes that she uses her creative productivity as a way to express her opinion about socio-political issues. She points out that after high school, during which she wrote poems, she started writing novels after joining the political movement. As an example, she suggests that she wrote *Night Lessons* (1986) to make a political argument. While her peers in the leftist movement were saying that in the case of a revolution, they would organize collective farms and so forth, she kept responding, “I’m not going to do any of that, I’m going to write novels.” She started writing “right after 12 September... almost the next day” as a response to the coup. In our follow-up interview, she pointed out that writing was also a way to protect herself from the “violence” of the coup, noting,

Of course, the coup is something that our generation experienced very severely, because the dream of our future was taken away from us... At the same time, the

coup meant shaping us in a way that we did not want at all... That is a severe sort of violence.

Tekin indicates that her desire to express socio-political opinions in novels caused conflict in her political community.

...I was coming from inside the political movement and from that generation...Of course they identified with me, but this formed a very big psychological weight on me, because there was something political I wanted to argue about—and at that point, a fight broke out when *Night Lessons* (1986) was published anyway.

The book caused “a huge row/chaos (*çok ciddi karıştı*)” and “the left,” which was in fact a multitude of different socialist and communist movements with various orientations such as pro-Soviet, pro-China, anarchist, and independent, “declared her a traitor.” She explains,

I mean, I’m a writer and I want to write what is happening; I want to write as I want, freely... but then a fight breaks out. Because it is something that shakes their power. That’s why they are bothered by it. But this doesn’t just happen in our country; it happened in many countries anyway.

In her interview with Özer (2005), she noted that she still believed that the Turkish Left Movement should have argued what she argued in that *Night Lessons*.

Tekin points out that literature and writers had an important role in the socio-political events after the coup of 1980.

But I kind of think that that a process of becoming civilians (against the military existence; *sivilleşme*) was experienced because of literature and we've had a part in that... *Dear Shameless Death* (1983) came out *exactly* in that period and received attention. Then (Orhan Pamuk's) *Mr. Cevdet and His Sons* came out—back to back, the acknowledged novelists of our generation. And I believe that a process of becoming civilians (against the military existence; *sivilleşme*) existed through us. It was lived (experienced) through literature in that period, then (the military pressure) gradually decreased/relaxed.

In her interview with Özer (2005), Tekin talked about her Kurdish background, which she does not mention in our interview. She noted that the Kurdish community felt close to her because of her mother, who was half Kurdish and half Arab, but she did not feel so, as her Kurdish background was a “distant blood relationship which had been (like) a fairy tale” (Özer, 2005, p. 9). She pointed out that she was concerned about their issues that emerged in the 1980s (Ahmad, 2003) the same way she was concerned about any other people's struggles (Özer, 2005).

5. *Influential People*

As people who have had an influence on her creativity, Tekin presents her uncle, an older sister, and her mother in five stanzas. She talks about her uncle twice and emphasizes her mother's impact on her creative life once. In our follow-up interview, she talked about her mother's personality. Although in our interview she does not mention her father in relation to her creativity, she pointed out that her father had a great

impact on her writing in her interview with Özer (2005), where she also talked more about her mother and uncle.

Tekin presents “people” as an important factor impacting her creativity while talking about the importance of nature: “...Close friendships, of course. A lot of energy comes from people as well—from love, from friendship.” Later, when asked about influential people, the first person she talks about is her uncle, who visited her in the village when she was six or seven and kept telling her she would become a “litterateur.” She always remembered what he said as “something very special” which later “awakened a curiosity” towards literature. She emphasized the importance of this incident in her interview with Özer (2005) as well, where she said, “Sometimes I think I became a writer because of this” (p. 79).

Tekin brings up the influence of the two other people, her sister and her mother, without my prompt. While talking about her siblings, she points out that her older sister, her father’s daughter from his first marriage, told her many fairy tales and adds, “She also has had a lot of (influence) on my creativity.” She then emphasizes her mother’s impact.

...Probably my mother had an impact (on my creativity), because her way of (story)telling, her world affected me a lot. The fairy tales my mother used to tell (me), the rhythm of her speech, the way she told stories, her world—because she used to speak with angels and so forth. She used to fight with the sky. And her world of course—it came from that. My mother probably impacted me *a lot*.

She elaborated upon her mother's fantasy world in her interview with Özer (2005), where she explained how her mother used to talk to genies, spirits, and angels that were perched upon her shoulders.

In our follow-up interview, Tekin talked about her mother's personality, pointing out that she had been a wise, "psychologically/emotionally headstrong, argumentative, and brave" woman. She commented that her mother "had an air of knowing the pressures that came from tradition but not caring; she had her feet strong on the ground (*ayakları yere basan*)."

Although she does not mention her father in the context of her creativity in our interview, Tekin presented him as an influential person in her interview with Özer (2005). She said that she "owed to her father that which made her a writer" and that he inspired her by "resisting (*direnmek*) wonderfully" after moving to Istanbul and facing numerous difficulties (Özer, 2005, p. 43).

6. Education

Emphasizing her aversion to the education system, she points out that she found experiencing life much more educational than attending an educational institution. Despite her negative feelings and criticisms, she notes that some factors related to her high school (a teacher, the school library, and the school's location) positively impacted her development and creativity. Noting that a teacher was very influential to her creative development, she suggests that teachers have a crucial role in the development of individuals. She talks about education in nine stanzas, two of which were in response to questions.

Tekin expresses her feelings against the Turkish education system when I ask about creativity's place in the system: "I...really have a very radical view. I can say I wish there were absolutely no schools (Laughter)." She points out she is content about not attending university, because instead, she was able to learn through real life experiences by getting involved with the political movement after high school: "And I think that I made a very correct decision. I still—at that time as well, I didn't hesitate a bit. I had gotten into a place (a university), I tore my (entrance) card... I finished my school life after high school and I became free."

Tekin criticizes the current education system in four aspects (since her final criticism is broader, it falls under the category *education and social classes* presented in the next section). First, she questions the necessity of the duration and extensiveness of educational institutions. She then suggests that children are sent to school when they are too young.

Very young—now we started with kindergarten; children start when they are around five—in fact, they start going to daycare much earlier, and after that they go to school for a *long* time. Because life has been organized in such a way that children need to go somewhere. I used to go to the village school; school used to be half a day back then—I used to go and come back, came back home—it was much softer. Now you go with school buses at very early hours and so forth, it's very difficult. That's why I think it is a complete disaster.

Her third criticism focuses on schoolbooks and how they make students dislike school.

...Of course these schoolbooks are so unappealing and unlikable—I talk to young people, I go to high schools—they invite me to talk to youngsters...I think schoolbooks are a disaster. They're completely daunting and tiresome. My daughter used to go to school with so much love, and in the end, she got bored. She got sick and tired of it. Ultimately it's an education system that even makes children who love school sick and tired of it.

Despite these negative aspects of the education system, there were some factors related to school that positively influenced Tekin's creativity. When asked about factors in education that may have had an impact, Tekin immediately talks about a middle school teacher: "First of all, I have a teacher whom I am very fond of... He also wrote poetry. That teacher, for example, has had great impact on all of us." This teacher supported her literary efforts by lending her books and literary magazines and reading her poems. "Having someone she could talk to like that among her teachers" was very important for her. She points out that teachers have an important role in the lives of students.

I go to high schools, universities to talk to young people. Teachers can truly pass on something to the children/youngsters—it's important (that) youngsters are fond of their teachers; their relationship is important. There is such a thing.

Other factors that positively influenced Tekin's creativity were not related to the curriculum, but rather the physical setting and the school library. The architecture of the school building was beautiful and the school's garden was filled with "tall trees, trees of magnolia." The school was located "upon the sea, on the Bosphorus" and students could

watch the sea during class. Tekin calls the school setting “unforgettable” twice and emphasizes that she was greatly inspired by it. She also points out that that she benefitted greatly from the school’s library: “... We didn’t have books at our house, for example. The school library was important for me... I used to read by checking out books from the library.” However, Tekin also notes that in spite of the positive factors that inspired her, there was “a rage inside of her against school.”

7. Education and Social Classes

Tekin points out that the education system in Turkey is related to social and political issues in that it either separates or unites social classes. She observes that while schools in the 1960s and 70s brought different social classes together, schools today are elitist and separate social classes, which is her fourth criticism of education (the first three are presented under the category *education*).

She compares educational institutions in the 1960s and 70s to institutions today and starts by presenting the atmosphere of education when she attended school.

But people were much more innocent, teachers were also like that, maybe children were also like that. I don’t know; there was a different atmosphere in Turkey. There was not such an education with privilege/exclusivity. Very different regions and people—unprecedented people came out from our class, for example. People from very different occupations and leagues; very different, from different social classes...

She then comments on education today: “I think these private high schools, private education are horrible, because social classes have been divided.” When I respond that it

has become a class division, she asserts, “Of course, it’s just like class division. Poor children can’t even go to school, this is very serious. It’s like class division.”

8. Socio-Political Events and Their Impact on the Community

Emphasizing the importance of socio-political events, Tekin explains how she, her generation (generation of ’78), and others, were influenced by the socio-political events of the 1970s and 80s. While pointing out the advantages and disadvantages of the time, Tekin notes that after the coup of 1980 (referred to simply as 12 September) the military government systematically distanced the next generation from both Tekin’s generation and political issues. She expressed her opinions in seven stanzas, one of which was prompted by me. As explained in Chapter II, “the generation of ’78” usually includes those who experienced the ultimatum of 1971, which in practice was a coup, were at university in 1978, and were young adults during the coup of 1980 (Başkal, 2003). “The generation of ’68” on the other hand, refers to those who experienced the coup of 1960, were at university in 1968, got involved in student demonstrations, and were young adults during the ultimatum of 1971 (Başkal, 2003).

Tekin brings up her generation’s involvement in socio-political issues while talking about writing novels: “...Meanwhile of course our generation has a very interesting political adventure. That is something that’s very important.” She points out that while the social climate then united different social classes, today there is a separation.

There were a lot of opportunities that were brought by the political events in our era. And also people from different parts, different cultures, different ages were

in the same political movement —this brought with it a great opportunity. I mean, poor people and those from the bourgeoisie could work together on a political issue for the same purpose. It was something very important; there was such an opportunity, because different worlds could come side by side. ... Today there is not much possibility for such a thing. (They've been) separated too much. I mean, it's not easy for a poor child to have a bourgeois friend. But in that period, it was like this. That brought—I mean I think I gained a lot in that period.

She notes that she was very politically active especially between 1974 and the early 1980s: “I got into a lot of fights with political movement too... Very young—I mean, I was politicized in my high school years.” When I ask why she became politically active so early on, she answers that it was “in the atmosphere of the country.” She says her generation just followed their “elder brothers (*abiler*) and elder sisters (*ablalar*),” referring to the generation of '68 and showing her respect for them. She adds,

The generation before us was already—we were ready—we were their continuation. They passed on that sensitivity to us anyway... But (it) was very ready—it was very natural that we entered the political movement, because there was definitely someone in this political movement from each of our families.

Turkey's atmosphere was an atmosphere like that anyway.

Tekin points out that her generation could not “pass on that sensitivity” to the following generation: “...There was a breaking away there due to 12 September. They blocked our way.” This statement is supported by books on Turkish history (e.g., Saktanber, 2002; Zurcher, 2004) which suggest that the events during and after the coup of 1980 severed

the ties between Turkish youth and politics more than the military interventions of 1960 and 1971. Tekin also sees the difference between the generations of writers after '78.

When I look at what the generations after us write, I say, “We are probably the last generation that has taken such responsibility for the world” (*dünyayı öyle üstlenen*). Because for example, Orhan Pamuk is also from our generation—issues of Turkey, the world, urbanization, cities. This almost finishes in the newer generation. I mean, when I look at it regarding age, the next generations don't take responsibility for life like that (*öyle üstlenmiyor*). They write different things.

Tekin notes that her experiences in the political movement were enriching:

We went straight into that political arena... At a very young age you go and you adopt a feeling of responsibility for the world. That's a very important thing. You both learn a lot, and you think about the world, life, and the whole community.

You think, you debate... Of course there was a certain accumulation (of knowledge and experience) that came from being in that political movement.

When asked whether the political movement also impacted her creativity, she answers, “Of course, of course; it has a big role,” and moves onto the categories that are discussed in the following section.

9. *Gender and Its Impact on Society and Social Classes*

In six extensive stanzas, Tekin explains how women are disadvantaged in society and talks about her experiences in her family and in society because of her gender.

Noting that the political movement of the 1970s was dominated by men, she points out

that female writers and women in general have certain disadvantages in society. A former chapter leader of the most prominent feminist group of the 1970s, Tekin suggests that women, like the lower social class, are “without a language” and have to conform to a male-dominated society. Twice, she points out that she had much more freedom in the village, as opposed to the city, where her family moved to when she was nine, because her brothers (interestingly, not her father) put pressure on her because of her gender. In our follow-up interview, she noted that when she had started her career as a writer, she did not know how she would create her own language as a woman. She also contrasted the towns and villages when she was a child to towns and villages today, noting that the perception of religion has changed.

Tekin points out that the political movement of the 1970s “had a dominant male (-oriented) mode of speech (*erkek söylemi*)” and was “a male political movement with its hierarchical structure as well.” As a woman writer, Tekin experienced an “inverted advantage: ‘It’s like this, you know the saying, ‘Monkeys can do literature too.’” Noting that her gender “deepened” her poverty, she explains female writers’ situation in societies.

...There is an advantage of being a female writer for advertisements and so forth (i.e., draws attention). But this goes so far. But it’s never an acceptance from deep down—because they say this at international writers’ meetings as well—I feel the same way—women can rise/advance to a certain point. Even in England, for a very long time, writers like Virginia Woolf had a very little place in

encyclopedias, while Joyce had a large (place). From deep down there is a disdain towards women (*kadın aşağılaması*).

She points out that women have to learn to adapt to male-dominated societies.

Women can talk to men because women do translations... What I say is this, I think that women are also deaf/language-less, like poor people. Of course women talk, but in fact inside they are hiding a word. All of these things that are inside them—of course in your generations there is a bigger move towards freedom, but I think—a kind of schizophrenic group of people... as a group they hide it inside, they pretend. Then, (women's) way of speaking is not masculine—that's what I mean when I say male language. But when (a woman) speaks, she (says) something else with signs—she pretends in front of men, she puts on an act, she hides something within. That's what I mean by (she is) deaf/language-less. She learns the male language with all of its things. Because there has been a male culture for I-don't-know-how-many thousands of years.

Tekin expressed her passion for women's issues in societies in her interview with Yıldız (2007) as well, where she pointed out that women, as a group of people, did not have a history, since history had been written by men and the only women included in history were the mothers, wives, and daughters of men in power.

In addition to talking about gender issues in society in general, Tekin also presents her personal experiences related to her gender. After she emphasizes that she had freedom in the village, she presents the pressure put on women in the city because of what is called the “neighborhood (*mahalle*) oppression,” which implies the pressure on

individual liberties, especially women's, put on by the local milieu. *Mahalle* refers to a neighborhood where a group of—usually conservative—families live; everyone knows each other; and there's a lot of gossip.

There were of course also some pressures (*baskılar*) on us... that atmosphere of the “*mahalle*” (neighborhood) had formed. For example, in the village, I was much freer. It is more suffocating in the big city, because “*mahalle*”s (neighborhoods) are formed and the neighborhood checks on things, especially women, young girls. I gave a serious struggle for freedom as a young girl. That happened in the city.

She notes that while her father remained less strict after moving to the city, her brothers started putting pressure on her because of the “*mahalle*” oppression. Thus, society influenced her brothers' thoughts and actions greatly. Tekin adds that her brothers now understand what they did to her: “My older brother still says, ‘I treated you poorly a lot when we were young; forgive me’—he always says that.” She also notes that despite their strictness, her brothers also loved her dearly.

In our follow-up interview, she also noted a difficulty she had in the beginning of her career as a novelist because of her gender. When she had started her career, she “had a problem with language as a woman”: “‘I’m going to create another language,’ ‘How am I going to tell my stories?’—(these) were problems for me.”

Tekin also made an observation related to changes in Turkish society in our follow-up interview. She observed a difference between towns and villages when she was a child and towns and villages today, especially in the perception of religion.

When I was a child it was more—women were able to live in much more freedom in towns. Of course there was a feudal system but there were no women in veils/ headscarves like there are today—there was no such atmosphere. Islam had a more shamanistic (feel to it); it was something cheerful...

10. Locations (the City and the Village)

While Tekin talks about her two homes, the village of Karacafenk and Istanbul, in different contexts, she suggests that both places were influential on her creativity. Expressing only positive feelings, she emphasizes that her village provided her with a wonderful childhood. She has mixed feelings about the city: On the one hand, she felt sad in the city because she felt disconnected from nature and experienced great difficulties because of her family's impoverishment, the latter of which she talks about three times. On the other hand, she was happy with her support system in her neighborhood. Having watched the modernization of her village, Tekin notes that the time period in which one grows up is very important. This category consists of 12 stanzas.

Making its inspirational quality obvious, Tekin describes her village where she lived until she was nine.

And that village was like a fairy tale village. There we had a beautiful childhood—my childhood was very magical. That's where you become different (from others). You walk from one village to the next, it's very safe. You get to know all the animals. You're in nature; the snow falls; stars, the sky, animals—an extraordinary life. And all cultures were conserved. And everyone—it was

very cosmopolitan. *Rums* (Greek-Turks), Armenians, Circassians, all of them—(they have) all of their traditional garments and they're like folklore clothes. It looks as though they would start dancing folklore (with the costumes on). There's nothing; there's no electricity, there's gas lamps... We grew up in such (an environment).

She explained her unusual life in the village, where people believed in fairies, genies, and spirits, in her interview with Özer (2005) as well.

The first time Tekin talks about Istanbul, she presents it in a negative light: "I think nature affected (me) a lot... If I experienced some unhappiness in the city, that was probably because I couldn't breathe within nature." However, she also continues by posing a question suggesting that moving to the city had a role in her becoming a writer: "Of course if I had stayed in the village, would I have written, I don't know."

She explains the socio-cultural context of the time and the mass migration from villages to cities, in which her family also took part when she was nine.

It was such a period for Istanbul—that big migration—people completely broke down to pieces. There were no jobs; there was nothing to feed *that many* people. With such great dreams—dreams that were built with innocence—there was a period of modernization in Istanbul, but it was not an adventure that could greet such a large migration and feed the people arriving there... That's why something else exploded there; I mean it was an unfortunate period in Turkey's history.

She points out the difficulties her family faced after moving, which she elaborates upon in her interviews with Özer (2005), Gün (1986), and Yıldız (2007). She talks briefly about her family's migration, pointing out that her parents decided to move so that their children could get a better education. However, unemployment and poverty were rising in the city and her brothers had to get jobs: "...We lived through that the process of increasing impoverishment; and during that period they went (to work). And I went to school—for all of them (Laughter)." In her interview with Özer (2005), Tekin noted that trying to adapt to the city "emotionally shattered" her (p. 109). She watched her family's despair as her father had to become a worker and her brothers had to work on constructions because there were no other jobs (Özer, 2005).

Despite all these difficulties, Tekin refers to Istanbul once in a positive context while describing the support system that had developed in the neighborhoods (of the slums) where they lived.

Young "*Abla*"s (elder, respected female friends) had a knowledge of books—because these are poor people, they usually don't have libraries/book shelves but kept books in chests. On the street above ours was What's-Her-Name *Abla* and when (our books) finished—(we) finished the books (owned by) the *Ablas* on our street and (moved onto) the books (owned by) the *Ablas* of the above street (Laughter).

This support system promoted an atmosphere where reading was crucial in the lives of these children and teenagers and Tekin pointed out that it was greatly inspirational: "We

read a lot in our youth, in our childhood. We read throughout the day. There was a lot of inspiration in that whole atmosphere, wasn't there? There was a lot of inspiration.”

Tekin also talks about the social situation of the time—the 1950s and 60s—during which highways connecting villages to cities were built, villagers were offered easy credit, and they were able to buy machinery on credit (Büker, 2002; Köksal, 2001). Having watched her village's transformation, she points out that time period in which one grows up is very important.

11. The Situation of Literature in Turkish Society and Lack of Support

The part of the interview, during which incidents (comments) emerged that fit under this category, is different from the rest, as it was prompted by my questions that came specifically from the experiences of the day of the interview at the Gümüşlük Academy (explained above). While I would have asked about the academy anyway, I would not have probed the way I did if these events had not taken place. Thus, in one extensive stanza, Tekin explains the lack of support for literary efforts and the issues she has had to deal with because of standing up against those with money and power. Noting the purpose of the Gümüşlük Academy, she points out how “appalling” the situation of literary efforts in Turkey is as opposed to other countries.

While talking about establishing the House of Literature at Gümüşlük Academy in 1997, Tekin ambitiously points out that Turkey lacks such institutions.

Even *today* there is no such place in Turkey unfortunately... Istanbul is a capital of culture. In...2010... (it will be) the European Capital of Culture. And in that city there are thousands of hotels, thousands of things, and not one House of

Literature owned by writers, independently. This is an appalling situation. Such an appalling thing.

Here, Tekin is referring to the fact that each year, the European Union designates a city as the European capital of culture and the city of the year then showcases its cultural life and development. Istanbul has been chosen as the European Capital of Culture of 2010.

She points out that although the government, municipalities, and the “bourgeoisie” have “an amazing amount of money,” an institution like a House of Literature has not been established. And this is not accomplished.” She makes a comparison between Korea’s upper class and Turkey’s upper class.

I saw it in Seoul, when I went to Korea: The owner of a paper company—you know tissue paper—he made it; he donated a place to writers and writers govern it, not he. Here, people don’t donate anything. They don’t give it; and if they do, they put themselves on top—they want to govern it. I mean, (they) even (muttering) almost want to rule this place. People want to rule everything—the bourgeoisie can’t make donations.

When asked about the Gümüşlük Academy today, she explains that its purpose was to have a place where “people from different disciplines can come and work, so that there is an energy flow between disciplines.” She describes the atmosphere at the academy.

When one is making a statue there, let there be a poet here, let them both design together... Also, let us be in nature here. I mean, let us live here altogether with birds, other beings, while putting our foot on the ground, and let us share our

experiences. It's an unrestricted thing—I mean, it's not having meetings at a table, but it's, let's talk while having breakfast together in the mornings... And it's so that we can create *together*, design (together).

Tekin suggests, again, that a place like the academy “should” exist in Istanbul too: “We can of course do such a thing in Istanbul too, and I think we should. I think it should happen.”

When asked about the raid that took place on the day of the interview, Tekin explains that there are people who “destroy nature...build a house in the Myndos city, burn forests, give those places to mine companies” and emphasizes that it is “almost illegal; there are truly usurpers; they are usurping.” Noting that some of these people most likely have support from those in the government, she presents her conflict with a gun dealer.

There's a gun dealer here and this man built a house for himself on the antique Myndos city with a license for restorations. A rich man. He trusts his money.

We, in turn, sent a complaint to the Council of Monuments. Or they want to open a stone quarry over there, and I write an article against the stone quarry.

Incriminating information can be given from there (them/those people).

She expresses her feelings of despair and frustration: “This place is our home; we have been struggling for years to build it. And they do everything to intimidate you.” She explains how she has been dealing with various methods of intimidation by making false accusations like the one on the day of our interview.

Oh, Barış, they've come for everything... A man says, "Someone gave us this incriminating information," comes here, says, "You're making people work without insurance"... and we receive a penalty for three billion liras (today, three million New Turkish Liras; i.e. 2,500 dollars). Then we deal with the court. The other day insurance agents showed up (as a part of pressure; literally, "came [and stood] at our heads"). We're dealing with them. Officials working for the Ministry of Finance come, insurance agents come; if not them, the police come. She concludes, "I think this is done to intimidate people in independent fields who are the opposition. They do almost identical things to foundations like us or foundations similar to us, anyway."

Summary

In our interview, Tekin revealed her views on creativity, herself as a creative writer, influential people in her life, and her personality. She shared her opinions about socio-political events, her generation's experience, her role as a writer versus political activist, the link between literature and society, and the lack of support for literary efforts. She elaborated upon women's issues in society, her experience in her family because of her gender, her experience in the village and in the city. She also severely criticized education.

According to Tekin, creativity is a way to respond to the world, which she sees as a mysterious living organism, and nature is an important source of creative inspiration. Noting that creativity can help one deal with difficulties and find harmony, she pointed out that her creative work includes the creation of another form and language. She writes

in a state between sleeping and waking and gets extremely immersed with her creative work. In her interview with Özer (2005), she emphasized the importance of changing novels' narrative styles. Her uncle, an older sister, and mother, who was a strong and wise woman, are people she noted as influential to her creativity.

Noting that literature and society were interconnected, Tekin pointed out that socio-political events of the time had an important impact on the community. She and others from her generation of '78 were passionate about political matters, which brought people from various backgrounds together to fight for their ideals. Having owned up to her past as living in poverty, she has focused on the lives of poor people and has used her creative work to express socio-political ideas. She experienced a period during which she was caught in between her persona as a novelist and her persona as a political activist, but she remained loyal to her art and the honest expression of thought. Tekin's experience with the Gümüşlük Academy let her witness the existing lack of support or funding from society and the government for literary efforts. She also observed that those in power try to intimidate those who are independent and oppositional and who try to defend their cause.

Likening women's situation in the community to that of the lower social class, Tekin suggested that women, who have to conform to male-dominated societies, are allowed to reach success only up to a certain point. Her gender strengthened the negative impact of the social class she was from and she experienced restrictions in her family because of her gender. She made an observation about the conservative nature of society and pointed out that the perception of religion was much softer when she was a child,

which can be linked to historical facts. In the 1950s, national turmoil started rising; and after the end of the Democratic Party due to the military coup in 1960, the nationalist and religious right clashed with the Marxist left in the 1960s and 70s (Büker, 2002; Köksal, 2001; Zurcher, 2004). Thus, it was during this period that a part of Turkish society started leaning towards a stricter version of Islam, like that practiced in Saudi Arabia with Islamic Law (Ahmad, 2003).

Both locations where Tekin lived, the village and the city, had aspects that positively influenced the development of her creativity. While Tekin's village offered her a wonderful childhood, the city presented difficulties mostly because of the impoverishment her family went through after the migration. Tekin and her family experienced great difficulties in the city; for example, her brothers could not go to school and had to work.

Emphasizing her aversion to the education system, Tekin criticized the duration of educational institutions, the young age at which children are sent to school, and the lack of quality of schoolbooks. She suggested that schools in the 1960s and 70s brought different social classes together, while schools today separate social classes. She is happy that she learned life by experiencing it instead of attending a university. Despite her negative feelings, she did have a teacher who had a positive impact on her creative development.

CHAPTER V

CROSS-CASE ANALYSIS AND COMPARISON TO FORMER RESEARCH

This chapter consists of a cross-case analysis in which categories that emerged from the individual cases are compared to each other and to former research findings. Each research question is presented with an explanation of its findings and information on former research related to the research question. Special attention is paid to Oral, Kaufman, and Sexton's (2004) findings that pertain to the current study, since the latter is the necessary qualitative extension of the former.

Under research question one, which investigates how highly creative Turkish writers define creativity, aspects of participants' definitions of creativity and related former research are presented with a focus on the differences between Western and non-Western views of creativity. Under research question two, which investigates how highly creative Turkish writers describe creative processes and products, aspects of participants' descriptions of creative processes and products are presented along with prominent findings in creativity research, mostly conducted in Western societies. Under research question three, investigating the way in which socio-cultural factors influenced the development of the creativity of highly creative Turkish writers, various socio-cultural factors are presented with information on how participants viewed them and how they influenced the participants' creativity, along with former research findings related to the factors. A category that emerged and yielded interesting findings was participants' personality, which is also presented under the third research question.

Research Question One

How Do Highly Creative Turkish Writers Define Creativity?

In this section, first participants' definitions of creativity are briefly compared. Then, different aspects related to their definitions are compared with findings of former research, specifically in the context of Western and non-Western societies. Findings suggest that the some of the views of the participants are similar to non-Western views, while some of their views are similar to Western views (Table 15).

The participants' definitions of creativity emphasized the impact of socio-cultural factors on creativity. While some aspects of the participants' definitions were similar, some were unique. Both Kemal and Ağaoğlu expressed the importance of imagination and the environment for creativity. Ağaoğlu and Levi suggested that negative feelings such as sadness or anger, usually caused by environmental factors, were crucial in the stimulation of creativity. They noted that creativity was a way to deal with difficulties and that creativity involved courage. For Levi and Tekin, creativity included a search: The former suggested that it was a search for one's self, while the latter suggested that it was a search for what the mysterious "world" truly is, since what we perceive as the world is in fact an illusion.

Table 15

Findings for First Research Question and Comparison with Former Research

Findings of Former Research	Orientation	Kemal	Ağaoğlu	Levi	Tekin
Creativity as the process	Non-Western	✓	✓	✓	✓
Creativity as the product	Western				
Creativity as enlightening and spiritual	Non-Western	✓		✓	✓
Creativity as problem solving	Western		✓		
Creativity rising from social forces	Non-Western	✓			
(Narrative style) Original as reinterpretation of old ideas	Non-Western	✓			✓
(Narrative style) Original as formerly nonexistent	Western		✓	✓	
(Subject matter) Original as reinterpretation of old ideas	Non-Western				
(Subject matter) Original as formerly nonexistent	Western	✓	✓	✓	✓
Creativity as courage and risk-taking	Western		✓	✓	
Creativity as breaking from tradition	Western	✓	✓	✓	✓

Yaşar Kemal stated that creativity, which, despite its great importance, had not been studied enough, was mysterious, magical, endless, and indescribable. He suggested that creativity had an inherent quality to it, such as a creativity gene, and that in order for one's creativity to flourish, one also had to have practice and life experience. He emphasized the importance of being able to experience cultural elements with people. Meanwhile, Mario Levi suggested that creativity involved the effort to bring a different point of view and the ability to take risks. Latife Tekin defined creativity as a way to respond to the world and nature with a desire to fully experience the world.

Creativity as the Creative Process or Product

One difference between Western and non-Western cultures is that the former focus on the observable product (Lubart, 1990; Lubart & Georgsdottir, 2004), while the

latter focus more on the creative process (Lubart & Georgsdottir, 2004; Weiner, 2000). In this sense, all of the participants' definitions of creativity resemble non-Western views, as they focused on the process through which one creates and did not talk about the creative product in their definitions of creativity.

Creativity as Enlightening or Problem Solving

While in Western cultures, creativity is often viewed as an instrument for efficiency used to solve problems and find solutions (Westwood & Low, 2003), in some non-Western cultures, creativity is viewed as a process through which one can attain enlightenment and inner peace (Lubart, 1990; Westwood and Low, 2003). In addition to this, some non-Western societies attribute creativity to spiritual forces (Ngara & Porath, 2004; Rudowicz, 2004). In this study, Kemal, Levi, and Tekin's views of creativity were similar to non-Western views. They noted that creativity was spiritual and almost magical with a mysterious quality. Levi defined creativity as the search for one's self and Tekin defined creativity as the search for harmony and the way that the world truly is. On the other hand, Ağaoğlu's view of creativity resembled Western views, as she indicated that creativity rose from a need and gave the examples of the finding of fire and the invention of the wheel.

Creativity and Society

In some non-Western societies, creativity is often attributed to social forces (Ngara & Porath, 2004; Rudowicz, 2004), which can be linked to the collectivist nature of these societies. One of the participants, Kemal, pointed out that "the people"

(Anatolian people, villagers) are the source of creative wealth and noted that every story, novel, or epic that had been written came from the people.

Definitions of Novelty in Creativity

While original thinking is seen as important in both Western and non-Western views of creativity, the exact definitions of original or novel differ (Lubart & Georgsdottir, 2004). While the former often defines novelty as creating something that was formerly nonexistent, the latter often defines novelty as working with or reinterpreting traditional ideas (Lubart & Georgsdottir, 2004; Weiner, 2000). In their creative work, all four participants brought something new to Turkish literature, although the interpretation of the word “new” regarding their work may vary and fit either Western or non-Western interpretations (Lubart & Georgsdottir, 2004; Weiner, 2000). Kemal and Tekin emphasized that they used the language of the people they represented; thus, their language, or narrative styles, were new in the non-Western sense (making use of the old or already existent). Meanwhile, Ağaoğlu and Levi focused on the creation of narrative styles that had not been used in Turkish literature before; thus, in this sense, their narrative styles can be considered new in the Western sense. On the other hand, in relation to subject matters, all four participants focused on subjects that had not existed in literature before (Kemal, the lives of Anatolian villagers; Ağaoğlu, socio-political events from multiple points of view; Levi, Jewish-Turkish individuals and other minorities; Tekin, the experiences of poor people living in slums).

Creativity as Courage and Risk-Taking

Piirto (2004) pointed out that risk-taking has been viewed as a prominent part of creativity since the beginning of creativity research in the West. Highly creative writers are usually willing to take risks by writing on subjects that are not normally addressed and trying new forms and styles of writing (Piirto, 2004). In fact, artists often have had to deal with censorship and rejection in society and they have shown the courage to persevere. In this aspect, the findings for two of the participants, Ağaoğlu and Levi, resemble the literature as their definitions of creativity involve an element of courage. Ağaoğlu noted that there was a “secret courage” in creativity and Levi indicated that creativity was “showing the courage to ask questions” and “taking the risk or danger.”

Creativity as Breaking from Tradition

In Western cultures, creativity is often viewed as separating from tradition (Westwood & Low, 2003), which can be observed in all four participants. Although they did not emphasize the separation from tradition as a part of creativity, they pointed out that creative writing involved the creation of a new language or new narrative styles.

Research Question Two

How Do Highly Creative Turkish Writers Describe Creative Processes and Products?

The second research question of the study explores participants’ perceptions of creative processes and products. While information that falls under this research question is similar to the information above, it delves deeper and focuses on what creative processes and products include. This section presents findings related to participants’ views and prominent findings in creativity research (mostly conducted in

Western societies) (Table 16). Some of the findings mirrored the findings of Csikszentmihalyi's (1996) study on 91 highly creative individuals, who were almost all from Western societies, with a few exceptions.

Table 16

Findings for Second Research Question

	Kemal	Ağaoğlu	Levi	Tekin
"Creative writing involves the creation of a new language and narrative styles."	✓	✓	✓	✓
Their products have been innovations in Turkish literature.	✓	✓	✓	✓
"The creative process requires intense labor."	✓	✓	✓	✓
"Creativity needs to be honed to mature."	✓		✓	
Explained ideal environment for creative productivity.	✓	✓		✓
Explained method for stimulating creativity.	✓			✓
Described the moment of sudden inspiration.		✓		
"Negative feelings have an important role in creativity."		✓	✓	✓
"Creativity can be used to deal with obstacles."		✓	✓	✓
Emphasized the intensity of the creative process.		✓		✓

Creating a New Language and Style

Although language was presented as a socio-cultural factor in Chapter II, the participants emphasized the importance of language as a part of their creative process, while emphasizing the socio-cultural role of language. Some studies have found that language is related to thinking skills (e.g., Mohanty & Babu, 1983) and creative productivity (e.g., Torrance, Gowan, Wu, & Aliotti, 1970).

All four participants repeatedly pointed out that their personal creativity involves the creation of a new language and various styles of narrative. This may not only be because of the obvious reason that language is the tool of their art, but also because Turkish people may have a different way of relating to language. In a study of the different patterns of recollection of people from Turkey, Japan, and the USA, results indicated Turkish people emphasized sound, language, and narrative variables in more than the others (Rubin, Schrauf, Gulgoz, & Naka, 2007).

Kemal repeatedly pointed out that the fundamental element of his creativity was creating language both in our interview and in others (e.g., Bosquet & Kemal, 1992/1999). He also noted that he disliked writing with the same narrative style (Bosquet & Kemal, 1992/1999). Both in our interview and in others, Ağaoğlu indicated that she felt a need to change the form of her narrative as her content changed, noting that her “real worry is not what will be written, but how it will be written” (Andaç 2005, p. 71). Levi noted that his creativity “emerged in language” and described language as “his field of creativity.” Tekin pointed out that in writing novels, one created an “upper-

language/ über-language (*üst dil*)” and she emphasized her desire to use different linguistic styles in each novel (Özer, 2005).

Kemal, Levi, and Tekin also noted that language reflects a society and different social groups, which is supported by the literature suggesting that language forms a lens through which the world is viewed (Carringer, 1974; Hoffman, Lau, & Johnson, 1986; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Lambert, 1977). Kemal and Tekin emphasized that they use the language of the specific group of people whom they represent; in the former’s case, “the people” (*halk*; villagers, Anatolian people), and in the latter’s case, “poor people.” Meanwhile, Levi noted that language was “a society’s identity.”

Innovations in Turkish Literature

In addition to creating a new language and narrative style while writing, the participants’ creative products have been innovations in Turkish literature. They are all highly productive and have introduced topics that had not been dealt with before in literature. They fit Gardner’s (1993) description that states that highly creative people systematically construct creative products and pose original questions that eventually become accepted in a certain field. It should be noted that their creative work is also linked to their social, cultural, and political views.

Kemal has been known for his use of different dialects and as the leading figure of the genre of the “Village Novel” (Halman, 1970; Halman, 2006), which focuses on the problems and harsh facts of Anatolia (rural areas in Turkey). The Village Novel reached its peak with the first volume of Kemal’s *Ince Memed (Memed, My Hawk)* published in 1955. Ağaoğlu has been renowned for her contributions to the

modernization of the Turkish novel (e.g., Gümüş, 2007) and her complex narrative style, which differs greatly from the classical narrative style (Ağaoğlu, A., 2005). Levi has brought a new perspective to Turkish literature by presenting the lives of the Jewish-Turkish community, which had not been represented in literature before (Gürsel, 2002; Karadoğan, 1999). Tekin has been widely known for bringing magic realism to Turkish literature (Altınel, 1993; Books And Arts, 2001; Kalfus, 1993). In addition to this, she has brought the experiences of villagers who migrated to the city and ended up in poverty to Turkish literature (Altınel, 1993; Çakıroğlu & Yalçın, 2003).

Intense Labor During the Creative Process

Although it is often assumed that highly creative individuals suddenly come up with their creative products, studies have found that creative work often goes through several steps until it reaches its final form (Weisberg, 1986). This was the case with all four participants: While Ağaoğlu, Kemal, and Tekin gave examples on how extensively they worked on their creative products, Levi pointed out that creative writing required intense labor.

For example, Kemal has pondered topics and worked on novels for years, paying great attention to the smallest details (Andaç, 2003; Bosquet & Kemal, 1992/1999). Ağaoğlu has done extensive research on her novels' topics and characters. For example, in order to experience what Bayram, the hero of *The Delicate Rose of My Thought* (1976), experienced she stood at Kapıkule, the border between Turkey and Bulgaria, where Bayram stood guard as a soldier (Okur, 2006). In fact, she went there before 6.00 am and stood with the soldiers during the most active time of the border (Ağaoğlu, A.,

2004). Similar to Ağaoğlu, Tekin has also done extensive research for her novels, such as going to the slums and listening to the stories of the people whom she would be writing about (Özer, 2005).

Maturation of Creative Skills

The “ten-year rule” suggests that creative geniuses must hone their skills at least ten years before they reach maturity and studies have found this to often be the case (e.g., Gardner, 1993). This theory was emphasized by Kemal and Levi (Ercan, 2005), who noted that time and practice were needed for one’s creative skills to fully develop. Indicating that he wrote much better now than he used to, Kemal pointed out that one’s creative skills needed time to grow through practice and life experiences. Meanwhile, Levi, who worked on fiction-writing for 15 years before publishing his work, noted that becoming a writer required patience and time to practice, make mistakes, and learn (Ercan, 2005).

Ideal Environment for Creativity

Studies have found that highly creative individuals often seek out environments that allow them to concentrate, which often includes solitude (Csikszentmihalyi, 1996; Piirto, 2004). For example, one of the scientist participants in Csikszentmihalyi’s (1996) study on 91 highly creative individuals, who were almost all from Western societies with a few exceptions, pointed out that he needed to detach himself from the outer world.

Three of the participants of this study have made similar comments. Kemal retreats to distant places in order to concentrate on his work (Bosquet & Kemal, 1992/1999). Ağaoğlu emphasized that she needed silence and complete solitude in order

to write (Andaç, 2005). Tekin noted that she isolated herself from the external world while writing.

Stimulating Creativity

In addition to an inspirational location, one's activities may also have an influence on one's creative process. For example, activities such as driving or swimming have been found to influence creativity positively. Csikszentmihalyi (1996) suggested that the reason for this is that such semiautomatic activities require some attention, leaving room for unconscious thinking.

Two of the participants, Kemal and Tekin, explained how they stimulated their creative thinking. Kemal pointed out that while writing, he walked for hours to think creatively (Bosquet & Kemal, 1992/1999). Throughout history, walking has been viewed as an activity that stimulates creativity; for example, Greek philosophers discussed ideas while walking (Csikszentmihalyi, 1996). Tekin noted that while writing she kept herself between sleeping and waking, which has been found to be a state conducive to creativity, since in this state of reverie, one is passive and receptive to creative images and ideas (Piirto, 2004).

Sudden Inspiration

Parnes (1992) suggested that individuals may get creative inspiration in an instant, which has been called "The Aha Moment." In "the Aha Moment," thoughts, ideas, and facts are combined to create "a new and relevant configuration, one that has meaning beyond the sum of the parts—that provides a synergistic effect" (Parnes, 1992,

p. 136). It can also be called “incubation” during which people suddenly have an insight while doing something completely unrelated (Torrance & Safter, 1999).

One of the participants, Ağaoğlu, talked about such “Aha Moments.” She explained that she got an idea for a novel suddenly in one instant, which she described as “a moment of enlightenment” and “emergence of something to the conscious.” She pointed out that it felt like “something heavy falling on her head” and that it was a surprise to her too.

Negative Feelings and Their Impact on Creativity

In his study on 91 highly creative individuals, Csikszentmihalyi (1996), who suggests that the creative process starts with a puzzlement, conflict, or tension, found that according to several participants, “suffering” stimulated creativity. Similarly, Ağaoğlu defined creativity as a reaction to feelings such as conflict, sadness, or anger and Levi stated that negative feelings were crucial for the stimulation of creativity. Ağaoğlu repeatedly pointed out that the strongest factor that influenced her creativity was “rage” and she emphasized society’s role in the provocation of negative feelings that led to creativity. Levi indicated that “negativity” related to personal and social issues was a driving factor that stimulated creativity. Although not presenting negative feelings as crucial for creativity like Ağaoğlu and Levi, Tekin noted that negative feelings were among various factors that prompted creativity.

Similar to Ağaoğlu, who noted that one “cannot paint the picture of happiness (Andaç, 2005, p. 104), and Levi, who said “creativity is hidden in one’s deepest pain,” one of Csikszentmihalyi’s (1996) participants, a Hungarian-born Canadian poet and

translator, said “Suffering is not bad: It helps you very much. Do you know a novel about happiness?... We are a perverse race, only suffering interests us” (p. 84).

Creativity to Overcome Obstacles

In addition to noting that negative feelings lead to creativity, Ağaoğlu, Levi, and Tekin also noted that creative productivity was a great way to deal with such feelings and various difficulties in life. According to Ağaoğlu, creativity is a way to express and deal with one’s negative feelings. Levi commented that one could either submit to one’s grief or use that energy for creative productivity. Tekin noted that she dealt with the trauma of the coup of 1980 through writing.

Intensity of the Creative Process

Csikszentmihalyi (1991, 1996) suggested that while creating, people experience “flow,” during which they become completely absorbed with what they’re doing. The two female participants reported experiencing such absorption with their creative work. While Ağaoğlu likened her state of mind while writing to being in love (Andaç, 2005), Tekin likened her experience while writing to a seizure (Özer, 2005).

Research Question Three

How Do Different Factors Related to Turkish Culture and Society Impact (Help or Hinder) the Development of the Creativity of Highly Creative Turkish Writers?

This section presents various socio-cultural factors with information on how participants viewed them and how they influenced the participants’ creativity, along with former research findings related to the factors. The socio-cultural factors that are presented are education, socio-political issues, society, government, gender, influential

people, childhood and family, and locations and home environment (see Appendix E). A category which emerged and yielded interesting findings was each participant's personality, which was most likely influenced by the socio-cultural factors mentioned as well as genetic factors.

Education

Creativity in education has been a popular area of interest and research has shown that education is a key socio-cultural factor in the development of creativity (e.g., Amabile, 1983, 1990, 1996; Simonton, 2006). In their quantitative study on 948 creative Turkish writers, Oral, Kaufman, and Sexton (2004) found that education level ($\beta=.22$, $Wald\ test=7.23$, $p<.01$) was predictive of winning an award and that the majority of those who won an award had a bachelor's degree (56.1%), followed by a high school diploma (26.7%). Meanwhile, fewer writers with doctorates and master's degrees had won an award (9.9% and 4.3%, respectively). Thus, education positively influenced writers' success to a certain point. The researchers concluded that this may be because Ph.D. programs emphasize scholastic thinking focusing on the specialization in one area, which may inhibit creativity (Oral, Kaufman, & Sexton, 2004).

In the case of the participants of this study, Ağaoğlu and Levi attended college while Kemal terminated his formal education after middle school and Tekin after high school.

Research suggests that school has had little effect on the lives of highly creative individuals (e.g., Csikszentmihalyi, 1996), which is reflected in the current study. Only one participant, Ağaoğlu, who did not comment on the current education system,

suggested that a factor related to school's curriculum had a positive impact on her by introducing her to a book which became important for her.

In their study, V. Goertzel, M. Goertzel, T. Goertzel, and Hansen (2004) found that out of 400 individuals, three-fifths complained about school and schoolteachers. Similarly, in this study, three of the four participants, Kemal, Levi, and Tekin, expressed their extreme aversion towards the education system. While Levi and Tekin focused on education in Turkey, Kemal referred to education around the world. He criticized that education systems were based on memorization and that children were treated differently from adults. He also criticized those in charge of educational institutions in Turkey. Levi emphasized that the education system did not allow for creativity in any way; moreover, it harmed creativity and critical thinking. Tekin criticized the duration of educational institutions, the young age at which children are sent to school, the lack of quality of schoolbooks, and the elitism that is prevalent in schools.

Amabile (1983) found that creative skills are enhanced by training and experience, which is in accordance with Kemal's vision of education. According to Kemal, the ideal education system would be based on learning through working and studying, producing, and creating. Tekin also noted that she felt truly educated through experiencing life instead of attending college.

Creative skills can be cultivated by informal education, as well as formal education (Amabile, 1983). Although formal education has not influenced the participants of this study, informal education has. Kemal and Tekin both made a distinction between formal and informal education and indicated that they preferred the

latter. Kemal emphasized the importance of mentorship and pointed out how much he had learned from the guidance of his mentor, Arif Dino (1893-1957). Tekin noted that she had gained more from experiencing life than attending an educational institution.

Csikszentmihalyi (1996) found that many highly creative individuals are positively influenced by teachers who noticed them, believed in them, and cared about their progress. His findings are reflected in two of the participants, Levi and Tekin, who, despite all the criticisms, indicated that they had had teachers who had positively influenced their creativity. In fact, Levi presented two teachers, one of whom was the “first in his list” of influential people. This teacher, who showed faith and interest in Levi’s abilities, is now remembered by Levi as the person who started “his belief in his authorship” and “lit a spark” in him. Tekin’s middle school teacher supported her interest in literature by reading her poetry and lending her books and literary magazines. Tekin also emphasized the importance of teachers’ impact on students.

There were a few factors related to school, but not the education system, that had a positive impact on some participants. Ağaoğlu and Tekin benefitted from the school library greatly, and the latter was also inspired by the location of the school and the school building.

Socio-Political Issues

Some studies have found that highly creative individuals tend to become deeply involved with social and political issues (e.g., Csikszentmihalyi, 1996). In fact, highly creative writers have a greater tendency to be involved in political or social activism (e.g., Piirto, 2004). All four participants of this study have been politically and socially

active in some way, whether it was being a part of protests with peers, like Levi, or being completely involved with the political movement of the 1970s and 1980s, like Tekin. This is not very surprising, since it was quite common for Turkish writers to be socially and politically active until the 1980s (Özcan, 2004). After the founding of the Turkish Republic, writers became directly involved with the government and several prominent Turkish literary figures became members of the Turkish Parliament or bureaucrats (Özcan, 2004). Writers continued their involvement with the government until the 1950s, after which writers distanced themselves from the governmental roles and remained politically active with their written work (Özcan, 2004). After the coup of 1980, writers became less politically active and literature started focusing less on political and social issues (Özcan, 2004).

The participants of this study have included socio-political issues in their creative work. Ağaoğlu and Tekin emphasized the importance of socio-political factors in their lives as novelists by indicating that they specifically chose the genre of the novel to express themselves in the socio-political realm. They also noted that they often wrote as a reaction to socio-political issues. In addition to this, the participants have dealt with socio-political issues by either identifying with a certain group of people or focusing on a group of people in their creative products. Kemal wrote about the experiences and lives of “the people” (*halk*); Ağaoğlu presented the socio-political opinions of people who are on various sides of the political spectrum; Levi wrote about the Jewish-Turkish community and others who do not fit with societal norms; and Tekin presented the experiences of the lower socio-economic class. Kemal, Tekin, and Levi pointed out that

language has a socio-political dimension and the former two have specifically used the language of the people they focused on in their creative work.

According to Kemal, Ağaoğlu, and Tekin, literature and writers have an important role in societies. Kemal emphasized that it was a writer's duty to assume responsibility for social, cultural, and political issues in a country (Bosquet & Kemal, 1992/1999) and Tekin pointed out that writers had a crucial role in the decrease of the atmosphere of military oppression in society in the early 1980s. Ağaoğlu indicated that a country's literature is important for the documentation of that country's socio-political composition and history. Some researchers have expressed the same opinion as Ağaoğlu and pointed out that all forms of art represent society, culture, and history and that written materials can provide insight into a society and a culture (e.g., Friedrich, 1996).

Although socio-political events may instigate different types of reactions in highly creative individuals, in general, political fragmentation has been found to have a catalyzing effect on creativity across different cultures and historical periods (e.g., Simonton, 1975). All four participants of this study indicated that they were greatly affected by socio-political events. Despite distressing them greatly, socio-political turmoil ultimately prompted their creative productivity. While civil disturbances that are usually instigated by the people, such as popular revolts, rebellions, and revolutions, tend to be stimuli for creativity, political instability such as coups d'Etat, which involves the control of the police, army, or other military forces, tends to be a hindrance (Encyclopædia Britannica, 2007d; Simonton, 1975). Levi and Tekin, who were a part of the civil movements of the 1970s, found the politically charged atmosphere to be highly

creative. However, the participants did not note that the coups hindered their creativity. On the contrary, since three of the four, Levi, Agaoglu, and Tekin, emphasized that negative feelings prompted creativity, the coups provoked creative productivity. Only Levi pointed out that the community's creativity was suppressed after the coup of 1980, since the military oppression was extreme. However, the oppression still stimulated creativity and once the oppression decreased, writers emerged to express this creativity.

While both age groups were equally influenced by socio-political events, the younger writers were affected specifically by the spirit of their generation. Levi and Tekin both were drawn into the political world along with others in their generation of '78. The importance of one's generation, the era and place in which one is born is greatly influential on one's life in every aspect, as indicated by these two writers, who noted that becoming politically active in one way or another was a natural part of life for their generation. Their emphasis on the military government's systematic depoliticization of the generations after theirs suggests that socio-political issues influence the way a community forms values. While Levi and Tekin's generation valued improving the country, the following generations have focused more on their own individual productivity, which has been the aim of the government's depoliticization.

Society

The culture of a society may encourage certain forms of creativity while discouraging others (Lubart, 1990). For example, painting and sculpture could not develop in the Ottoman Empire as they did in Europe because of the influence of religion, since in Islam, creating an image of any human form is considered a sin (Belge,

2005). However, the aristocracy did not adhere to such rules; in fact, many Sultans had their portraits done by European painters and the aristocracy took painting lessons (Belge, 2005; Faroqhi, 1998; Iskender, 1983).

Another important aspect of a society's impact on its creative productivity is support from that society. For example, in the Ottoman Empire, the wealthy funded the education of talented artists (Belge, 2005; Faroqhi, 1998; Iskender, 1983) and Da Vinci received funding from the de Medici family, who wanted to make Florence the center of "classical greatness" and thus established a Platonic Academy (Weiner, 2000, p. 54). Such financial support is very important since it frees creative people and allows them to focus on their creative work (Amabile, 1983). In this study, Tekin pointed out that the upper-middle class did not support Turkey's literary efforts in any way. She noted that "the bourgeoisie" did not make donations and that if they did, they wanted to be in charge of whatever institution they supported.

Ağaoğlu, Levi and Tekin reported experiencing difficulties in Turkish society. They experienced differential treatment because of a certain social group they had belonged to or were perceived as belonging to. In the female writers' case, the reason had been their social status after moving from their village or town to the city; the former felt discriminated by her classmates at school and the latter felt discriminated within literary community. Meanwhile, Levi experienced differential treatment because of his social and religious background as a Jewish-Turkish individual. Both Ağaoğlu and Levi noted that these experiences, which caused negative feelings, stimulated their creativity.

Ağaoğlu, Tekin, and Levi expressed their opinions about literature in Turkish society today. Ağaoğlu criticized the community's habit of comparing Turkish literature to Western literature, noting that Turkish society had an inferiority complex (Ağaoğlu, A., 2005). Tekin commented that the embarrassing state of literary activities and endeavors in Turkey is caused by the complete lack of support from the government and the community, as noted above. While on the one hand, Levi is pessimistic about the quality of writers since the 1980s, on the other hand, he is encouraged by his students' desire to write in his creative writing courses.

Government

Studies have found that the government's view of creativity and approach to enhance creativity are influential (e.g., Simonton, 1975). For example, artists who lived during the Renaissance, such as Da Vinci, Raphael (1483-1520), and Michelangelo (1475-1564), were supported and encouraged because the government which embraced art, creativity, and the potential of genius (Gardner, 1993; Weiner, 2000). Oral, Kaufman, and Sexton's (2004) study indicated that the government's approach to creative writing had an impact on Turkish writers. They found that, in the case of 948 creative Turkish writers, both the type of writing and era (pre- or post-1920) were significant predictors of winning an award. Before the Republic (1923), the palace supported fiction-writing, which may be why fiction writers received more awards than poets. However, after 1923, the government promoted arts and focused on the cultivation of theater and poetry, which is probably why playwrights and poets received more awards than fiction writers.

Another important factor related to the government is the financial support they provide for creative individuals. Amabile (1983) found that having financial support frees the creative person from having to focus on financial issues. According to Oral, Kaufman, and Sexton's (2004) study on 948 Turkish writers, those who were professional writers were more likely to win an award, which suggests that indeed, having the time to focus on their creative work may have enhanced their creative productivity and quality.

The participants expressed their strong feelings against the government and suggested that neither they nor other writers have received support from the government. Kemal emphasized that the government acted like tyrants towards writers and Tekin openly stated that the Turkish government did not support literary efforts in Turkey in any way. Ironically, however, Ağaoğlu, Levi, and Tekin noted that conflicts with the government or because of the government stimulated their creativity. According to Tekin, such conflicts provided one with life experience which benefitted creativity. Kemal is the only one who pointed out that if conflicts with the government had not existed, he would have written more and better. However, he also reports having been let go from the newspaper because of the government, which in turn, ironically, gave him the opportunity to devote his time to writing.

Meanwhile, all four participants witnessed and experienced various turmoils because of the government. For example, Kemal, was imprisoned and tortured for being a communist spy and disseminating communist propaganda in 1950 and has been sued several times (Andaç, 2003; Bosquet & Kemal, 1992/1999). Ağaoğlu experienced

several difficulties because of government interference with her personal life, professional life, and creative work.

Gender

Gender is a socio-cultural factor that has been found to greatly impact various elements of creativity and creative individuals (Lubart, 1990). Gender-based roles are shaped by society and in turn impact creative development and expression (Mar'i & Karayanni, 1983). While some studies found no gender-based differences in creativity (e.g., Baer & Kaufman, 2006; Kogan, 1974), others found some differences between men and women (e.g., Card, Steele, & Abeles, 1980; Chan, et al., 2001; Dudek, Strobel, & Runco, 1993; Gilligan, 1985). In their quantitative study on 948 creative Turkish writers, Oral, Kaufman, and Sexton (2004) found that although only 10% were female, which is disconcerting, gender was not a significant predictor of winning an award, which is comforting.

Both female participants, Ağaoğlu, who stated that she supported feminism (Karlıklı, 1987), and Tekin, suggested that their gender influenced their lives, the development of their personalities, and their creativity greatly. They expressed their passion about gender issues in society and noted that women have been subjected to injustice, which still continues today, all around the world. Ağaoğlu specifically emphasized the importance of women's financial independence. However, she also expressed her concern for the pressures that men face in society. Tekin likened women to the lower social class in that they did not have "a language," adding that women had to learn to conform to male-dominated societies. Because of their gender, they both

experienced a loss of freedom after moving from a village or town to a big city. Ağaoğlu pointed out that once a woman reached the age of 18, there was an increase in gossip regarding her behavior, love life, and possible future husband, which then led to an increase in family oppression. Tekin emphasized the “neighborhood (*mahalle*) oppression,” which included the gossip, constant watch, and judgment of others in the neighborhood. Thus, in both participants’ cases, the restriction they faced in their family was linked to the social atmosphere. Ağaoğlu noted that women in cities had more rules they had to abide by than those in villages or towns.

Ağaoğlu and Tekin felt they were being treated differently as novelists because of their gender. Ağaoğlu noted that while male writers got a lot of attention when they were sued by the government because of leftist ideas or “insulting Turkishness” (see Chapter II for information on Penal Code Article 301), she did not receive any attention from the community or the media when she went to court. She pointed out that if a female writer got a lot of attention in such a situation, like Elif Şafak, it was because she had connections with the media. Meanwhile, Tekin commented that her gender added to the disadvantage that came with her lower socio-economic background.

Research also suggests that highly creative people are not concerned with traditional gender roles (Amabile, 1983; McKinnon, 1968; Weiner, 2000). In fact, creative men show traits that are considered as stereotypically feminine, such as sensitivity and emotionality, and creative women show traits that are considered as stereotypically masculine, such as assertiveness and an individualistic perspective. The participants of this study also display show both stereotypically feminine and masculine

traits. The two male participants, Kemal and Levi, made it obvious that they experience emotions intensely and are sensitive. Meanwhile, Ağaoğlu and Tekin are rebellious, outspoken, and independent.

Csikszentmihalyi's (1996) study on 91 highly creative individuals indicated that marriage had negative effects on the women's creativity. In this study, participants did not comment on marriage and creativity, except for Ağaoğlu, who noted that if her husband had interfered with her writing, she could not have continued their marriage (Andaç, 2005).

Tekin made an observation regarding gender roles and Turkish society, by comparing the past to the present. She pointed out that the liberating atmosphere in towns and villages, especially the perception of religion, started changing in the 1950s and 60s. For example, in the 1950s, women did not wear headscarves and were much freer—"Islam had a more shamanistic (feel to it); it was something cheerful." Kemal made a similar observation noting that when he was a child, women did not wear headscarves in villages (Bosquet & Kemal, 1992/1999). Tekin's and Kemal's observations can be linked to historical facts. In the 1950s, during which Tekin was a child in the village, national turmoil started rising; and after the end of the Democratic Party due to the military coup in 1960, the nationalist and religious right clashed with the Marxist left in the 1960s and 70s (Büker, 2002; Köksal, 2001; Zurcher, 2004). Thus, it was during this period that a part of Turkish society started leaning towards a stricter version of Islam, like that practiced in Saudi Arabia with Islamic Law, as well as stricter rules for women. However, before then, the approach to Islam had been softer; for

example, even during the Ottoman Empire, alcohol had been allowed, Sultans had had their own and their wives' portraits done, and minorities had been allowed to practice their own religion under the empire (Ahmad, 2003).

Influential People

Research has found that immediate and extended family members (e.g., Amabile, 1996; Gardner, 1993; Piirto, 2004; Simonton, 1992) are influential in the lives of creative individuals in various ways. Three of the four participants of this study suggested that at least one family member had a positive influence on their creativity and had an important impact on their lives in general: Kemal's uncle, Ağaoğlu's mother (Andaç, 2005), and Tekin's mother, father (Özer, 2005), sister, and uncle. Both Ağaoğlu and Tekin's parents made sacrifices for their daughters' education. Since Ağaoğlu's town did not have a middle school, her family moved to Ankara so that she could continue her education after she had convinced them to let her go to school. Tekin's family moved from their village to Istanbul so that their children could get a better education.

Kemal, Ağaoğlu, and Tekin pointed out that their mothers had strong personalities and the female writers particularly emphasized their mothers' intelligence and independence. Kemal admired his mother's strong personality (Bosquet & Kemal, 1992/1999). Ağaoğlu's mother, whom she described as enlightened, intelligent, strong, and modern, affected the way she saw the world and made her realize the importance of women's financial independence. Tekin described her mother as courageous, challenging, determined, and independent-spirited. Interestingly, V. Goertzel, M.

Goertzel, T. Goertzel, and Hansen (2004) found that out of the 700 eminent individuals in their study, one-fourth of them had mothers with dominating personalities, while only one-twentieth of the fathers were so.

In addition to family members, mentors, teachers, and peers are also influential in the lives of highly creative individuals (e.g., Bronowski & Mazlish, 1960; Csikszentmihalyi, 1996; Gardner, 1993; Piirto, 2004). It's been found that just observing a creative act can enhance persons' creativity (e.g., Mueller, 1978). Of the participants, Kemal, Ağaoğlu, and Levi (Ercan, 2005) pointed out being supported from already established, prominent figures in their creative fields. Kemal and Ağaoğlu noted that a close friend had supported them and Kemal specifically emphasized the importance of his mentor, Dino. Levi and Tekin presented teachers who encouraged them to pursue their creative potential.

Emphasizing the influence of romantic love, Piirto (2004) pointed out that highly creative individuals have often been inspired by persons with whom they have an emotional identification and sexual attraction. Among the participants, Levi is the only participant who mentions the influence of people with whom one experiences romantic love and the emotion of love itself.

Childhood and Family

Despite the positive influences from family members mentioned above, research also suggests that creative geniuses often experience traumatic events as children often related to family members (Amabile, 1996; Piirto, 2004; Simonton, 1992). They also tend to have unconventional families and family traumas, such as parental disability,

neglect, or parental alcoholism (Piirto, 2004). In their study of over 700 eminent men and women, V. Goertzel, M. Goertzel, T. Goertzel, and Hansen (2004) found that three-fourths of the participants had troubled childhoods for reasons such as poverty, divorce, financial fluctuations, and difficulties with parents. In his study on 91 highly creative individuals, Csikszentmihalyi (1996) found an interesting pattern: many of the participants had lost their fathers when they were children.

While all four participants experienced various difficulties as children and teenagers, in the cases of Kemal and Tekin, difficulties were related to their families. For example, Kemal witnessed his father's murder when he was four and a half years old (Andaç, 2003; Bosquet & Kemal, 1992/1999; *Yaşar Kemal: Biography*, n.d.) and Tekin experienced her family go through extreme financial difficulties, which “shattered” Tekin emotionally (Özer, 2005, p. 109). Meanwhile, Ağaoğlu and Levi experienced difficulties as children and adolescents because they were viewed as different from the norm and treated differentially; in the case of the former, because of social class issues; in the case of the latter, because of socio-cultural background.

Often, a parent of highly creative individuals is highly structured and puts pressure on the child, which leads the latter to break free (Gardner, 1993; Goertzel, V., Goertzel, M., Goertzel, T., & Hansen, 2004). Three of the participants, Kemal, Ağaoğlu, and Tekin, had to stand up to family members and fight for their desires and rights. Kemal had to struggle with his mother, who thought being a Folk Poet was inappropriate for him as the son of a country gentleman. Ağaoğlu and Tekin experienced pressure in their families because of their gender and fought for their freedom.

Locations and Home Environment

Former research indicates that locations and home environments of highly creative individuals can influence the development of their creativity (Csikszentmihalyi, 1996), which is found in this study as well. Kemal, Ağaoğlu, and Tekin noted that events and situations related to locations influenced them greatly and Levi pointed out that his love for his city had a huge impact on him. For example, Ağaoğlu felt like an outcast in Ankara, where, because of the social structure, she was perceived as being from a lower social class. This experience, in turn, prompted her to write. Meanwhile Kemal and Tekin were inspired by the colorful cultural composition of their villages.

Kemal and Tekin also talked about the harmony of people from different ethnic backgrounds in their village and the wealth of all the cultural elements they brought. Indeed, the culture of the Anatolian peninsula has been known for its wealth with hundreds of ethnicities and subcultures which have lived in harmony for thousands of years (Oral, 2006a). Oral (2006a) suggests that a big difference between Western and Eastern views of art is that in the former's case, art develops with a specialization in one specific field, while in the latter's case, art develops with an intermingling between various fields. In the case of Turkish villages, Turkish women are involved daily with creative productivity. They embroider spreads and weave *kilim* (Turkish carpet) designs that depict stories that they have heard or stories of their lives (Oral, 2006a). Turkish folk clothing is made of needle lace that carries motifs with artistic expression.

Highly creative individuals have been found to often purposefully look for locations of natural beauty for inspiration (Csikszentmihalyi, 1996). All four participants

have either indicated or demonstrated their sensitivity towards locations of natural beauty. Kemal and Tekin described the natural beauty in and around their villages and Levi noted that Istanbul's beauty had been a great source of inspiration (e.g., Ayan, 2001; Ercan, 2005). In addition to this, they all have chosen homes that have amazing views of the sea. In the case of Kemal, Ağaoğlu, and Levi, their flats overlook the beauty of the Bosphorus. Tekin's flat looks over to the Aegean Sea near Bodrum.

Nature has been known to be a typical source of inspiration for writers and artists in general (e.g., Piirto, 2004; Wuthnow, 2001), which is reflected in three of the participants' comments on their home environments: Kemal and Tekin also talked about nature in general as an important factor for their creativity. Observing nature, which they described as mysterious and magical, is very important for them as creative writers.

V. Goertzel, M. Goertzel, T. Goertzel, and Hansen (2004) found that most of the 700 eminent individuals in their study were not born in large cities, but moved to metropolitan centers from villages and smaller cities. This is the case for the three of the participants of this study, Kemal, Ağaoğlu, and Tekin. Ağaoğlu experienced her childhood in a small town until her family moved to Ankara after her elementary school and Tekin lived in a village until her family moved to Istanbul when she was nine. Kemal grew up in a village but then started commuting to Adana and then finally settled there. In the case of the female writers, the move was more drastic, as they were young in the big city was difficult for both of them.

An Emergent Category: Personality

A category that emerged and yielded interesting findings was the participants' personality, which is presented in this section (see Table 17). Although most of the research on the personality of highly creative individuals has been conducted in Western societies, several of the findings regarding the participants' personalities are consistent with what the research suggests.

Table 17

Findings Under the Category "Personality"

	Kemal	Ağaoğlu	Levi	Tekin
Non-conformity	✓	✓	✓	✓
Love for literature and writing starting from childhood (including dedication, determination, and persistence)	✓	✓	✓	✓
Intensity of emotions	✓	✓	✓	✓
Willingness to take risks	✓	✓	✓	✓
Rebelliousness, outspokenness, independence	✓	✓		✓
Extreme curiosity (which also impacts their creativity)	✓	✓		✓
Perfectionism	✓	✓		
Introversion and shyness		✓	✓	
Skepticism		✓		✓
Love for learning and going to school as children		✓		✓

Non-Conformity

Former research suggests that highly creative individuals do not conform to societal rules and expectations (e.g., Feist, 1999), which can be observed in the participants of this study as well. For example, Ağaoğlu openly stated that she broke customs and traditional practices, which is indeed what she did: Before she got married in 1954, she went on a trip with her boyfriend, which was highly “improper” for a woman. Tekin did not fit in with her colleagues within the leftist movement and was shunned by them because she chose to write her opinions about political issues. Levi repeatedly pointed out that as a child and adolescent, he was “nonadaptive” and did not fit in with others. Kemal refused to conform to social standards regarding his social position as the son of an Agha and followed his dream of becoming a poet although it was not appropriate.

Love for Literature and Writing

Two of the assumptions underlying most conceptions of giftedness in creativity (e.g., Renzulli, 1986; Tannenbaum, 1986) are that childhood giftedness is the potential for adulthood productivity and that childhood performance can be a predictor of adulthood giftedness to an extent (Jackson & Butterfield, 1986). In addition to this, research has found that highly creative writers are passionate about literature and writing (e.g., Csikszentmihalyi, 1996), highly dedicated to their creative work (e.g., Tannenbaum, 1986), determined (e.g., Albert & Runco, 1986), and persistent (e.g., Csikszentmihalyi 1996; Harrington, 1990; Shaughnessy, 1998).

The participants of this study demonstrated their giftedness for writing as children and have been passionate, dedicated, and persistent in regards to their creative work. Kemal, who has been dedicated to literature since childhood, was only seven when he decided to become a Folk Poet (epic-story teller and poet, [*Aşık*]). Ağaoğlu and Tekin loved to read even as children and they developed a passion for writing in middle school (Andaç, 2005). Levi also started writing in middle school by keeping a journal and writing a novel (Ayan, 2001). They have continued writing despite various difficulties either related to their personal lives or professional lives.

Intensity of Emotions

Dabrowski (1972) suggested that highly creative people have “overexcitabilities” (OE), components of psychic life in which highly creative people are likely to respond with heightened levels of energy (Ngara & Porath, 2004; Silverman, 1993). Dabrowski (1972) identified five OEs, including psychomotor, sensual, intellectual, imaginational, and emotional. Research on overexcitabilities and gifted adults have found a trend of high levels of emotional OE (Piechowski & Cunningham, 1985; Silverman, 1983). The participants’ descriptions of their emotions suggest that they also have high levels of emotional overexcitability. For example, Kemal indicated the intensity of his feelings in various instances, such as while talking about how offended he was by the comment the Istanbul University’s rector made. Ağaoğlu reacted passionately towards the unfairness and injustice in the world by feeling a lot of “rage.” Levi experienced a “miserable” childhood and adolescence. Tekin noted that she wrote her first novel during a period when she was “emotionally shattered” (Özer, 2005).

Some studies have found creative writers to be less stable (e.g., Barron & Harrington, 1981) and more prone to experiencing psychological disturbances, such as depression (e.g., Piirto). The participants of this study also experienced emotional turmoil at some point in their lives. For example, after being imprisoned and tortured in 1950, Kemal suffered from depression for five years (Bosquet & Kemal, 1992/1999). Levi described his two or three years after college as a “dark period,” during which he could not write. Ağaoğlu noted that she had often thought about suicide, because she had never fit into society (Aygündüz, 2004). Tekin was “on the verge of psychosis” after the publication of her first novel (Özer, 2005, p. 35). However, it should also be noted that three of the participants found “negative” feelings such as sadness or anger to be catalysts for creativity.

Willingness to Take Risks

Highly creative individuals are often willing to take risks throughout their lives (e.g., see Harrington, 1990; Shaughnessy, 1998) and this characteristic is reflected in all four participants. They have demonstrated that they have not been afraid to take risks either in general or in their lives as creative writers. For example, becoming a part of social and political activities, and thus most likely being at odds with the government, was a big risk to take. They took risks with their novels by tackling issues that had not been dealt with before. Tekin continued expressing her opinions in her novels although her peers in the political movement told her it would cause great conflict, which it did. Kemal and Ağaoğlu continued writing about controversial issues although they had been prosecuted by the government several times.

Rebelliousness, Outspokenness, and Independence

Highly creative people tend to be rebellious, outspoken, and independent (Albert & Runco, 1986; Tannenbaum, 1986), which can be observed in Kemal, Ağaoğlu, and Tekin. They have always known what they wanted and were not afraid to stand up to authority. For example, Kemal, who views rebellion as “one of the greatest values of human beings” (Kışlalı, 1987), stood up to his mother when he was a child and defended his desire to become a Folk Poet. When Ağaoğlu’s parents concluded that she did not need to continue her education after elementary school, Ağaoğlu protested and went on a hunger strike until they changed their minds. As a teenager, Tekin, who was not one “who could be disciplined,” stood up to her brothers and fought for her freedom. These participants also emphasized that they valued their freedom of expression greatly and use writing as a way to express themselves, which also seems to be the tendency of highly creative writers (e.g., Piirto, 2004).

Curiosity

Kemal, Ağaoğlu, and Tekin noted that they have often had an intense curiosity towards various things, which is also a personality trait of highly creative people (e.g., Csikszentmihalyi 1996; Harrington, 1990; Shaughnessy, 1998). They emphasized that they felt a curiosity towards everything, which stimulated their creativity. Likening herself to an archeologist, Ağaoğlu pointed out that her curiosity was a factor that stimulated her as a writer and Kemal said that his curiosity led to his desire to learn. While talking about the various factors that had influenced her creativity, Tekin pointed out that she had had “an endless curiosity towards the world itself” since she was a child.

Their curiosity could be caused by a level of naiveté, meaning a tendency to notice small details that others do not notice (Piirto, 2004). For example, Kemal noted that “a piece of grass” or “water pouring up from a spring” were “pure miracles” for him (Bosquet & Kemal, 1992/1999, p. 81). Tekin pointed out that she felt a curiosity about the world as if she were “spellbound.”

Perfectionism

Both Kemal and Ağaoğlu fit the characteristic that highly creative people are perfectionists (Baer & Kaufman, 2006) who feel “responsible to their own high standards” (Albert & Runco, 1986, p. 339). They presented instances in which they expected more from themselves creatively and were not fully satisfied with their creative work. For example, when Kemal finished the first volume of *Memed, My Hawk* (1955), he did not want to sign his name under it, because he did not like it and he was aspiring for another, better novel. Ultimately, he did sign his name under the novel, which became his most acclaimed work. After university, Ağaoğlu stopped writing poems, because despite her success, she felt she would not be able to deserve being called “a poet.” She also noted that she constantly questioned her work, strove to improve her writing, and competed with herself.

Introversion and Shyness

Ağaoğlu and Levi both pointed out that they were introverted which fits with former research on highly creative individuals (e.g., Albert & Runco, 1986). Levi pointed out that as a child and adolescent, he was nonadaptive and introverted. He was alone and did not communicate easily with others. He stayed away from any sort of

social activity, such as becoming involved in school newspapers, although he wrote. Although he did not indicate whether his introversion still existed, he pointed out that the effects of his childhood and adolescence are continuing today.

Ağaoğlu noted that she had been shy her whole life. Her response to questions regarding her unique personality that combines both outspokenness and shyness was that although she remained introverted, it never stopped her from “doing what she put her head to” (Andaç, 2005, p. 163). Albert and Runco (1986) found a similar quality in creative individuals: They were both introverted and dominant at the same time. Barron and Harrington (1981) pointed out that highly creative people are able to “accommodate opposite or conflicting traits in one’s self concept” (p. 453), which can be observed in Ağaoğlu.

Skepticism

Ağaoğlu and Tekin are skeptical of people and things created by people, which is a social trait found in highly creative individuals (e.g., Feist, 1999). For example, Ağaoğlu noted that the first time she felt she had matured was when she discovered the meaning of suspicion in high school. Tekin pointed out that she had “a disbelief” and “a suspicion towards the things found and told by mankind.”

Love for Learning

Ağaoğlu and Tekin were hard-working as children and teenagers in school, which seems to be common for the childhoods of highly creative women (e.g., Wallace & Wahlberg, 1995). They pointed out that they loved learning and going to school. It should be noted that they did not necessarily like the education system, but they liked the

process of getting educated. Ağaoğlu noted that as a teenager, she had wanted “to remain a child who was being educated.”

Summary

This chapter presented the cross-case analysis including a comparison between categories that emerged from different cases (Creswell, 2007) along with a comparison of the findings with former research. The following chapter presents overarching themes and conclusions.

The participants’ definitions of creativity in some cases supported findings of creativity research conducted in Western societies and in some cases, research done in non-Western societies. For example, in some instances participants viewed originality in the Western sense, meaning formerly nonexistent, and in some instances, in the non-Western sense, meaning reinterpretation of the old. All four participants were similar in that they explained creativity as a process, and not a product, and as a way to separate from tradition. Three of them defined creativity as a way to reach enlightenment, while one explained creativity as a way to find a solution to a problem. Two participants included courage and risk-taking in their definitions of creativity.

Regarding the creative process and product, all four participants, whose creative products have been innovations in Turkish literature, emphasized that their own creative productivity involved the creation of a new language and narrative styles. They noted that creative productivity required a lot of work and three of them described the ideal environment that enhanced their creative productivity. Three participants said that negative feelings prompted creativity and that creativity could in turn be used to

overcome negative feelings. Two participants talked about the intensity of the writing process, two explained how they enhanced their creative thinking, and one described her “Aha Moments.”

Regarding socio-cultural factors and their influence on their creativity, the participants made interesting comments. Education did not have much of an impact on the participants, except for one who gained something by reading a book in class and two who had been encouraged by a few teachers. They criticized formal education and two of them promoted informal education such as learning from a mentor or actually experiencing life. They were all greatly influenced by socio-political factors, were active in the socio-political realm, and included socio-political issues in their creative work. Three of the participants emphasized the importance of literature and writers to society. While one participant emphasized the government’s and society’s lack of support for literary efforts, they all experienced turmoil because of the government. Three of them, however, noted that this turmoil prompted their creativity. The two female participants are very passionate about the inequality and mistreatment of women in society and have felt that they have been treated differently as female novelists. Participants expressed the importance of the impact of the people in their lives, who included family members, prominent individuals in the field, friends, mentors, teachers, and lovers/ boyfriends and girlfriends. As children they experienced various difficulties and three of them had to fight for their desires and rights in their family. They were all influenced by the locations where they have lived.

Regarding their personalities, the participants were similar in that they did not conform to societal norms; they had a passion and dedication to literature; they had intense emotions and a willingness to take risks. Three of the participants were rebellious, outspoken, independent, and extremely curious. Other personality traits that are present in some of the participants are perfectionism, introversion, skepticism, and love for going to school.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter presents overarching themes that have emerged from the study and conclusions. The overarching themes focus on environmental catalysts that prompted creativity, support networks in the participants' lives, and participants' self-efficacy. Conclusions include the significance of the study, similarities and differences between the findings and findings of studies conducted in Western and non-Western societies, the impact of socio-political turmoil on creativity and creative productivity and the educational significance of the study.

Overarching Themes

There are three overarching themes that present a broader umbrella encompassing the findings under the research questions. The themes are environmental catalysts that prompted creativity, support networks in the participants' lives, and participants' self-efficacy.

Theme One: Environmental Catalysts That Prompted Creativity

A theme that emerged involved the impact of certain catalysts on the lives of the participants (Gagne, 2004; Hall, 1995) that have stimulated their creativity. According to Gagne's Differentiated Model of Giftedness and Talent (DMGT), environmental factors can include the milieu at the macroscopic level, such as geography and demography, the milieu at the microscopic level, such as socioeconomic status, and events or sudden changes in environmental conditions (Gagne, 2004). In the case of the participants, various catalysts at these three levels were constantly present in their lives and

influenced their creativity, such as geographical locations (e.g., the villages of Yaşar Kemal and Latife Tekin), socioeconomic status (e.g., the increased poverty of Tekin's family's and the impoverishment of Kemal's family after his father's death), social status (e.g., Adalet Ağaoğlu's higher social status in town, and then her lower social status in Ankara), and sudden changes in environmental conditions (e.g., Ağaoğlu and Tekin's move to the big city). At times, the catalysts were emotionally difficult (e.g., Ağaoğlu being teased at school) or emotionally uplifting (e.g., Kemal and Tekin's experience in villages where different cultures lived in harmony). In fact, two of the participants, Adalet Ağaoğlu and Mario Levi, emphasized the role of emotionally negative catalysts by noting that they were crucial in the stimulation of creativity, which has been noted by highly creative people in other studies as well (e.g., Csikszentmihalyi, 1996).

In some cases, the experiences seemed to be the result of chance, which Gagne (2004) includes as a separate catalyst. Kemal called this luck and talked about the teacher who lent him his house full of classical music records as an example. In other cases, the experiences were an outcome of purposeful action, such as Ağaoğlu struggling with her parents to continue her education.

Theme Two: Support Networks in Participants' Lives

The data suggest that participants' creativity has been greatly influenced by both emotional and professional support networks. Support networks, which include family members, friends, co-workers, teachers, mentors, experts in fields, and readers, have had an important role in various aspects of the participants' lives. Former research has also

found that such individuals were important in the lives of highly creative persons (Amabile, 1996; Bronowski & Mazlish, 1960; Csikszentmihalyi, 1996; Gardner, 1993; Piirto, 2004; Simonton, 1992). In his model (DMGT), Gagne (2004) included persons as one of the environmental catalysts.

In some cases in the participants' lives the impact of support networks was the result of an unconscious or small act, such as Ağaoğlu's mother, who made an important impression on Ağaoğlu by frequently reading novels in front of her. Whereas in some cases, support networks actively worked to promote the participants' creativity. For example, Muhsin Ertuğrul (1892-1979), an "expert" in Turkish theater and cinema, encouraged Ağaoğlu by inquiring after her new plays often. Mehmet Ali Aybar (1908-1995), the president of the Workers' Party, took an interest in Kemal's work and gave advice on one of his novels which turned out to be crucial in Kemal's career as a novelist. Kemal suggested the importance of people as a socio-cultural factor by talking about seven individuals who had an impact on his life and literary career. Tekin noted that "a lot of energy" came from people, especially close friends, and influenced one's creativity.

Theme Three: Participants' Self-Efficacy

The data suggest that participants have always had high self-efficacy, which can be described as one's beliefs in one's abilities to take action that will result in attainment (Bandura, 1997). This quality can be seen as the source of various personality traits, such as non-conformity and persistence. Gagne (2004) calls such personality traits intrapersonal catalysts. In her study on 918 students, Schack (1991) found that higher

self-efficacy was very important in their creative productivity. Tierney and Farmer (2002) took Bandura's (1997) concept of self-efficacy a step further and suggested the term creative self-efficacy to represent one's confidence in one's creative abilities.

The participants of this study demonstrated mostly similar personality traits. For example, none of them have conformed to societal norms and all four of them have shown a willingness to take risks. They have all pioneered something new in Turkish Literature and they have shown passion, dedication, determination, and persistence in regards to their creative work. Three of them are rebellious, outspoken, and independent and two are perfectionists. These characteristics can be related to their high self-efficacy, since, without the strong feeling or conviction that they have the ability to make a difference and reach a goal, the participants probably would not have such characteristics. For example, if they had low self-efficacy, the two participants who are perfectionists would not be so, since they would not see the power of improvement in themselves to demand perfection from themselves.

Findings related to the participants' personalities, which emerged from the data, are similar to the findings of former research, although most of the studies focused on individuals from Western societies. The reason for this may be the composition of Turkish culture which is greatly influenced by the West. However, it only makes sense that these individuals have such personality traits, because if they had been any different, they probably would not have attained the level of success they have as novelists today. For example, it was their non-conformity and independence of thought that let them become innovators in Turkish literature. Their love for literature, their dedication,

determination, and persistence, along with their willingness to take risks, rebelliousness, and outspokenness led them to pursue their dreams without being discouraged. Thus, if they had not had such personality traits, they probably would not have become such acclaimed writers. If they just had had the talent alone, they might have still produced works of art, but they would not have reached this level of success and would not have become important contributors to literature.

Summary and Conclusions

This study adds to the literature on creativity and the documentation on world literature by specifically focusing on the field of creativity in relation to highly creative Turkish writers. In addition to this, this study adds to the body of creativity research conducted in countries other than the United States or Western Europe, which is still deficient (Sternberg, 2006).

Since the participants of the study are well-known and highly acclaimed writers, there are several printed documents on them such as books of interviews with Kemal (Bosquet & Kemal, 1999), Ağaoğlu (Andaç, 2005), and Tekin (Özer, 2005). While such interviews and books include some information about participants' lives that overlap with the findings of this study, none of them entail a systematic analysis of the impact of various socio-cultural factors on the creativity of these individuals. Furthermore, none of them include a systematic comparison of these individuals' experiences to each other. This study specifically targets the relationship between socio-cultural factors, the participants' creativity, and their views of creative processes and products.

This study presents a glimpse into the minds of highly creative writers who have lived in a society quite unique, caught between the West and the non-West. The complex nature of Turkish society may be why participants' perceptions of creativity resembled both Western views and non-Western views of creativity. In some ways, their views were similar to non-Western ones: All four described creativity as the process, not the product; three of them saw creativity as enlightening and spiritual; two of them emphasized that they made use of the traditional, folkloric language of the people they represented in their novels; and one saw creativity as rising from social forces. On the other hand, in some ways their views resembled Western ones: All four emphasized their novels' subject matters, which had not been included in Turkish literature before; all four saw creativity as breaking from tradition; two viewed creativity as risk-taking; and one saw creativity as problem solving.

In their definitions of creativity, the participants emphasized the magical, unearthly quality of creativity. They presented creativity as a passionate search for the meaning of life, a search for self, and a search for self-expression. They pointed out that creativity was a way to deal with emotional turmoil and often resulted from emotional turmoil. They linked literature, writers, and language itself to society and socio-political issues. They noted that creative productivity required hard work and indicated how and where they enhanced their creativity.

Findings indicate that creative individuals, their lives, and their creative products cannot be separated from their societies or their experiences within that society. Participants have been greatly influenced by numerous social, cultural, and political

variables, including gender and generation. Interestingly, mostly distressing factors including socio-political events acted as catalysts to their creativity. It can be concluded that events that cause negative emotional reactions prompt creativity because for writers, writing is the main way they express their emotions and ideas, which has been noted in the current study and the literature (e.g., Piirto, 2004). So when highly creative writers are vexed, they feel more inclined to write. While it is relieving that socio-political turmoil does not negatively impact creativity, since it can never be totally eradicated from countries, it is important to have a level of freedom in which one can freely exercise their creativity. For example, as one participant, Levi, noted, right after the coup of 1980, although the event itself prompted creativity in individuals, the oppression was so much that that creativity could not be expressed. Thus, the stimulation of creativity and the actualization of creative productivity require two different environmental settings. While extreme oppression may stimulate creativity, it will not allow for creative productivity, at least not publicly. In this case, highly creative writers could still produce works of art, but it would be in secret and would not have a social impact or make a difference in the lives or thoughts of others, which, according to the participants of this study, are important functions of literature.

Educational Significance

This study provides information on the role of education in the lives of these highly creative writers, especially the Turkish education system. Findings indicate that the participants did not benefit from educational institutions at all, except for one instance when Ağaoğlu read a book for class which influenced her greatly. In fact, the

participants were extremely critical about the education system in Turkey, emphasizing that it did not allow critical thinking or creativity to develop. Indeed, education in non-Western societies has been found to emphasize rote learning, memorization, and conformity (Westwood & Low, 2003) and the Turkish education system is no different. In recent years, Turkish educators have also have been criticizing the education system for ignoring students' interests and creativity, which has led the Ministry of National Education to become more open to new teaching philosophies and policy innovations (Oral, 2006a). Since 2002, Turkish elementary and secondary education systems have been moving towards a more constructivist approach to education and new projects such as Support to Basic Education financed by the European Council have been implemented. These developments can be seen as first steps towards a system that provides room for creativity (Oral, 2006a). However, it should also be noted that the focus for such developments is elementary education, while higher education still needs to be reformed (Oral, 2006a). At all levels of the Turkish education system the development of students' individuality should be facilitated (Halıcı, 2001), self-control should be allowed to a certain degree (Amabile, 1983), and students' responsibilities should be reduced (Halıcı, 2001).

This study adds to the literature that suggests that teachers are possibly the most important element of education for the development of students' creative abilities (e.g., Csikszentmihalyi, 1996; Piirto, 2004). For example, when asked about people who had influenced his creativity, Levi presented a teacher as the most important person. The teacher's faith and interest in Levi and his abilities led him to become confident in

himself as a writer. Another participant, Tekin, was supported by a teacher who read her poetry and lent her literary books and magazines. Tekin also emphasized the importance of teachers' impact on students. Thus, while these teachers' actions may seem like minute details, they obviously had an important influence on these writers' creative development. Teachers can also act as mentors, whose impact is also very important as suggested by Kemal. Kemal has repeatedly stated that he takes pride in having been educated by his mentor, Arif Dino, pointing out that he "owed his everything to him." Although in Kemal's case, his mentor was not one of his teachers, teachers can act as mentors and perhaps change the direction of a student's life.

Since teachers have such an important role in students' development, it is important that they are provided with the necessary training to be able to facilitate the growth of students' creative abilities. In the case of Turkish education, teachers and administrators need to be educated about ways to enhance creativity and the complexity of highly creative students. Research has indicated that regardless of the discipline, teachers value recognition and recall skills in class, while skills such as idea generation, critical thinking, and problem solving are viewed as excessive and unnecessary (Dikici & Taşpınar, 2002; Işıksalan, 2002; Sökmen & Bayram, 2002). Günçer and Oral (1993) found that Turkish teachers viewed highly creative children, who are often nonconformists, as rebels who just did not obey rules. Erçetin (2001) found that teachers mostly focused on passing on traditional values instead of being open to the development of new ideas. While some core values cannot be altered since they are rooted in Turkish society, an effort can be made to systematically create an educational

environment that deliberately promotes creative thinking, which can take place through providing teachers with opportunities to enhance their knowledge about creativity.

Suggestions for Future Research

Suggestions for future research include studying the impact of socio-cultural factors on the creativity of other Turkish writers; comparing other writers' experiences and opinions to the experiences and opinions of the participants of this study; and studying experiences of Turkish writers who have lived both in Turkey and a Western country and observing how they compare the different societies. The way socio-cultural factors influence highly creative individuals in different fields may also be studied. For example, have Turkish actors been influenced by socio-political issues like Turkish writers? Or, which domains or fields do socio-cultural factors influence most? Future studies may study the experiences of highly creative writers in other countries, either Western or non-Western and compare findings to the findings of this study. Future studies may also delve deeper into Turkish education and creativity by interviewing or surveying teachers and administrators to understand how they view creativity in education and society.

REFERENCES

- Acar, F. & Ayata, A. (2002). Discipline, success, and stability: The reproduction of gender and class in Turkish secondary education. In D. Kandiyoti & Ayşe Saktanber (Eds.), *Fragments of culture: The everyday of modern Turkey* (pp. 90-114). New York: I. B. Tauris & Co. Pub.
- Ağaoğlu, A. (2004). *Damla Damla: Günler I. – 1969-1977* [Drop by Drop: Days; Volume 1: 1969-1977]. Istanbul: Alkım Press.
- Ağaoğlu, A. (2005, May 4). *On the Changes of 1970-80 in the Turkish novel* (F. Bingül, Trans.) Presentation at the 5th Light Millennium Conference, Retrieved May 3, 2007 from http://www.lightmillennium.org/2005_15th/aagaoglu_speech.html.
- Ağaoğlu, H. (2003). *Herkes kendi kitabının içini tanır: Adalet Ağaoğlu'nun yazarlığının 55. yılı onuruna...* [Everyone knows the inside of their own book: In honor of Adalet Ağaoğlu's 55th year of authorship...]. Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Press.
- Ahmad, F. (2003). *Turkey: The quest for identity*. Oxford, UK: Oneworld Publications.
- Akşin, S. (1981, February). Romancılığımız neden daha ileri değil? [Why is our novel writing not further advanced?]. *Somut*, 26, 6-15.
- Aksu, A. (1985). *The effects of method and sex on science achievement, logical thinking ability, and creative thinking ability of 5th grade students*. Unpublished master's thesis, Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey.
- Alaçam, A. (2002, September 17). O bir dünya insanı [She is a person of the world].

- Milliyet: Kültür ve Sanat*. Retrieved February 2, 2008 from <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/2002/09/17/sanat/san00.html>.
- Albert, R. S., & Runco, M. A. (1986). The achievement of eminence: A model based on a longitudinal study of exceptionally gifted boys and their families. In R. J. Sternberg & J. E. Davidson (Eds.), *Conceptions of giftedness* (pp. 332 -357). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Albert, R. S., & Runco, M. A. (1999). A history of research on creativity. In R. J. Sternberg (Ed.), *Handbook of creativity* (pp. 13-31). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Ali, F. (1983). Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nden konservatuarlar [Conservatories in the Turkish Republic]. In M. Belge, S. Gürsel, M. Tuncay, & B. Özükan (Eds.), *Cumhuriyet dönemi Türkiye ansiklopedisi, Vol. 6* [Encyclopedia of Turkey—the Republican Period, Vol. 6]. (pp. 1531-1535). Istanbul, Turkey: İletişim Pub.
- Al'kaeva, L. O. (1980). Ince Memed. *Edebiyat*, 1-2(5), 69-82.
- Altinel, S. (1993, February 12). Urban shepherdess. *Times Literary Supplement*, 4689, 21.
- Amabile, T.M. (1983). *The social psychology of creativity*. New York: Springer-Verlag.
- Amabile, T. (1990). Within you, without you: The social psychology of creativity, and beyond. In M.A. Runco & R.S. Albert (Eds.), *Theories of creativity* (pp. 61-91). Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Amabile, T. M. (1996). *Creativity in context*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, Inc.
- Andaç, F. (2003). *Yaşar Kemal'in sözlerinde yaşamak* [Living in Yaşar Kemal's words].

Istanbul: Dünya Press.

Andaç, F. (2005). *Adalet Ağaoğlu kitabı: “Sen Türkiye’nin en güzel kazasıdır”*

[The Adalet Ağaoğlu book: “You are Turkey’s most beautiful accident”] (2nd ed.). Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Press.

Ardaç, D., & Muğlaoğlu, E. (2000). *Divergent production as an integral part of a programme designed to improve basic science process skills*. Paper presented at the 4th International Conference on Creative Thinking, Malta.

Ayan, P. (2001). *Mario Levi ile röportaj* [Interview with Mario Levi]. Retrieved May 20, 2007 from <http://www.bigglook.com/biggistanbul/roport/mariolevi/cover.asp>.

Aygündüz, F. (2004, October 7). Söyleşi: Adalet Ağaoğlu’nun piyano temrinleri.

[Conversation: Adalet Ağaoğlu’s piano practices]. *Kitap-Milliyet Internet*.

Retrieved May 5, 2007 from

<http://www.milliyet.com.tr/ozel/kitap/041007/03.html>.

Baer, J., & Kaufman, J. C. (2006). Creativity research in English-speaking countries. In J. C. Kaufman & R. J. Sternberg (Eds.), *The international handbook of creativity* (pp. 10-38). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Bandura, A. (1997). *Self-efficacy: The exercise of control*. New York: Freeman.

Barak, M., & Goffer, N. (2002). Fostering systematic innovative thinking and problem solving: Lessons education can learn from industry. *International Journal of Technology and Design Education*, 12, 227-247.

Barron, F., & Harrington, D. M. (1981). Creativity, intelligence, and personality. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 32, 439-476.

- Basadur, M., & Gelade, G. (2003). Using the creative problem solving profile (CPSP) for diagnosing and solving real-world problems. *Emergence*, 5(3), 22-47.
- Basadur, M., & Hausdorf, A. (1996). Measuring divergent thinking attitudes related to creative problem solving and innovation management. *Creativity Research Journal*, 9(1), 21-32.
- Başkal, Z. (2003). Adalet Ağaoğlu'nun iki romanında 68 kuşağı [The generation of 68 in two novels of Adalet Ağaoğlu]. In N. Esen & E. Koroğlu (Eds.), *Hayata bakan edebiyat: Adalet Ağaoğlu'nun yapıtlarına eleştirel yaklaşımlar* [Literature that looks at life: A critical look at Adalet Ağaoğlu's works]. (pp. 57-69). Istanbul: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Pub.
- Bay, Y. (2006, November 27). Adalet Ağaoğlu'na saygı duruşu [Saluting Adalet Ağaoğlu]. *Milliyet Internet, Kültür ve Sanat*. Retrieved May 2nd, 2007 from <http://sanat.milliyet.com.tr/detay.asp?id=2691>.
- Belge, M. (2005). *Osmanlı'da kurumlar ve kultur* [Establishments and culture in the Ottoman Empire]. Istanbul, Turkey: Istanbul Bilgi Uni. Press.
- Ben-Amos, P. (1986). Artistic creativity in Benin Kingdom. *African Arts*, 19(3), 60-63.
- Books and Arts: Ataturk's children; fiction from Turkey. (2001, October). *The Economist*, 361(8245), 124. ProQuest document ID:87441176.
- Boratav, P. N. (1980). Designs on Yaşar Kemal's Yoruk Kilims. *Edebiyat*, 1-2(5), 23-36.
- Bosquet, A., & Kemal, Y. (1999). *Yaşar Kemal on his life and art* (E. L. Hebert

- & B. Tharaud, Trans.) New York: Syracuse University Press. (Original work published 1992)
- Bronowski, J., & Mazlish, B. (1960). *The Western intellectual tradition: From Leonardo to Hegel*. London: Hutchinson.
- Büker, S. (2002). The film does not end with an ecstatic kiss. In D. Kandiyoti & A. Saktanber (Eds.), *Fragments of culture: The everyday of modern Turkey* (pp. 147-170). New York: I. B. Tauris & Co. Pub.
- Burks, B. S., Jensen, D. W., & Terman, L. M. (1930). *The promise of youth, follow-up studies of a thousand gifted children: Genetic studies of genius, III*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Çakıroğlu, E., & Yalçın, M. (Eds.). (2003). *Tanzimat'tan bugüne edebiyatçıları ansiklopedisi* [Encyclopaedia of literary figures since Ottoman reformation]. Istanbul, Turkey: Yapı Kredi Press.
- Campbell, P. S. (1990). Crosscultural perspectives of musical creativity. *Music Educators Journal*, 76(9), 43-47.
- Card, J. J., Steele, L., & Abeles, R. P. (1980). Sex differences in realization of individual potential for achievement. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 17(1), 1-20.
- Carringer, D. C. (1974). Creative thinking abilities of Mexican youth. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 5(4), 492-504.
- Central Intelligence Agency. (2007). The world factbook: Turkey. Retrieved June 20, 2007 from <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/tu.html>.

- Chadwick, W. (1992). *Women, art, and society*. New York: Thames and Hudson.
- Chan, D. W., Cheung, P. C., Lau, S., Wu, W. Y., Kwong, J. M., & Li, W. L. (2001).
Assessing ideational fluency in primary students in Hong Kong. *Creativity Research Journal* 13(3-4), 359-365.
- Clance, P. R., & Imes, S. (1978). The imposter phenomenon in high achieving women: Dynamics and therapeutic intervention, *Psychotherapy Theory, Research and Practice*, 15(3), 1-8.
- Coatsworth, J. H. (2004). Globalization, growth, and welfare in history. In M. M. Suárez-Orozco & D. B. Qin-Hilliard (Eds.), *Globalization: Culture and education in the new millennium* (pp. 38-55). Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Cousins, S. D. (1989). Culture and self-perception in Japan and the United States. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 56(1), 124-131.
- Cox, M. V., Perara, J., & Fan, X. (1998). Children's drawing ability in the UK and China. *Psychologia: An International Journal of Psychology in the Orient*, 41, 171-182.
- Creswell, J. W. (2007). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Cropley, A. (2006). Creativity: A social approach. *Roeper Review*, 28(3), 125-130.
- Csikszentmihalyi, M. (1990). The domain of creativity. In M.A. Runco & R. S. Albert (Eds.), *Theories of creativity* (pp. 190-212). Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

- Csikszentmihalyi, M. (1991). *Flow: The psychology of optimal experience*. New York, NY: Harper Perennial Pub.
- Csikszentmihalyi, M. (1996). *Creativity: Flow and the psychology of discovery and invention*. New York, NY: HarperCollins Pub. Inc.
- Csikszentmihalyi, M., & Robinson, R. E. (1986). Culture, time and development of talent. In R. J. Sternberg & J. E. Davidson (Eds.), *Conceptions of giftedness* (pp. 264-284). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Demircan, O. (1990). *Yabancı dil öğretim yöntemleri* [Methods of foreign language teaching]. Istanbul: Ekin Eğitim Press.
- Demirel, H. (1991). *The poet Fuzuli: His works, study of his Turkish, Persian and Arabic divans*. Ankara, Turkey: Ministry of Culture Pub., Feryal Press.
- Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (Eds.). (1998). *Collecting and interpreting qualitative materials*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Dikici, A. & Taşpınar, M. (2002). Developing an attitude scale for determining art teachers' creative qualities (Turkish), *Education and Science*, 124, 23–31.
- Dilekçe, T.C. Altındağ 1. Noterliği, No. 7826 [Petition to the Turkish Republic, Altındağ first public notary, No. 7826]. (1984, March 5). Retrieved May 5, 2007 from http://www.nesinvakfi.org/aziz_nesin_aydinlar_dilekcesi.html.
- Dudek, S. Z., Strobel, M. G., & Runco, M. A. (1993). Cumulative and proximal influences on the social environment and children's creative potential. *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, 154, 487-499.
- Durakbaşı, A., & Cindoğlu, D. (2002). Encounters at the counter: Gender and the

shopping experience. In D. Kandiyoti & A. Saktanber (Eds.), *Fragments of culture: The everyday of modern Turkey* (pp. 73-89). New York: I. B. Tauris & Co. Pub.

Earley, P. C. (1993). East meets West meets Mideast: Further explorations of collectivistic and individualistic work groups. *The Academy of Management Journal*, 36(2), 319-348.

Ellen, E. W. (1989). The novels of Adalet Ağaoğlu: Narrative complexity and feminist social consciousness in modern Turkey. *Dissertation Abstracts International*, 49(1). 3022A. (ProQuest Document ID 744991481; Publication No. AAT 8827566).

Encyclopædia Britannica. (2007a). Adana. Retrieved May 22, 2007, from Encyclopædia Britannica Online: <http://www.britannica.com/eb/article-9003683>.

Encyclopædia Britannica. (2007b). Ankara. Retrieved May 5, 2007, from Encyclopædia Britannica Online: <http://www.britannica.com/eb/article-9007655>.

Encyclopædia Britannica. (2007c). Atatürk, Kemal. Retrieved February 5, 2007, from Encyclopædia Britannica Online: <http://www.britannica.com/eb/article-24781>.

Encyclopædia Britannica. (2007d). Coup d'état. Retrieved January 10, 2008 from Encyclopædia Britannica Online: <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/140445/coup-detat>.

Encyclopædia Britannica. (2007e). Istanbul. Retrieved September 25, 2007, from Encyclopædia Britannica Online: <http://www.britannica.com/eb/article-9106446/Istanbul>.

Encyclopædia Britannica. (2007f). Kayseri. Retrieved September 20, 2007, from

Encyclopædia Britannica Online: <http://www.britannica.com/eb/article-9044924>.

Encyclopædia Britannica. (2007g). Turkey. Retrieved June 20, 2007, from

Encyclopædia Britannica Online: <http://www.britannica.com/eb/article-9111078/Turkey>.

Encyclopædia Britannica. (2007h). Turkey: The military coup of 1960. Retrieved

February 3, 2007, from Encyclopædia Britannica Online:

<http://www.britannica.com/eb/article-44437>.

Encyclopædia Britannica. (2007i). Turkmen. Retrieved September 28, 2007, from

Encyclopædia Britannica Online <http://www.britannica.com/eb/article-9073856/Turkmen>.

Ercan, Ö. (2005, May). Mario Levi ile söyleşi [Conversation with Mario Levi]. *Varlık*, 5/2005, 26-28.

Erçetin, S. S. (2001). *With which values are elementary schools administered in Turkey?*

(ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED454600). Retrieved January 12,

2008 from [http://eric.ed.gov/ERICWebPortal/custom/portlets/recordDetails/](http://eric.ed.gov/ERICWebPortal/custom/portlets/recordDetails/detailmini.jsp?_nfpb=true&_ERICExtSearch_SearchValue_0=ED454600&ERICExtSearch_SearchType_0=no&accno=ED454600)

[detailmini.jsp?_nfpb=true&_ERICExtSearch_SearchValue_0=ED454600&ERICExtSearch_SearchType_0=no&accno=ED454600](http://eric.ed.gov/ERICWebPortal/custom/portlets/recordDetails/detailmini.jsp?_nfpb=true&_ERICExtSearch_SearchValue_0=ED454600&ERICExtSearch_SearchType_0=no&accno=ED454600).

Erol, S. (2003). Toplumsal dış gerçekçilik ve kişisel iç şiir: Adalet Ağaoğlu'nun

romanlarındaki ince ayar [Societal external reality and personal inner poem: The delicate quality in Adalet Ağaoğlu's novels.]. In N. Esen & E. Köroğlu (Eds.),

Hayata bakan edebiyat: Adalet Ağaoğlu'nun yapıtlarına eleştirel yaklaşımlar

- [Literature that looks at life: A critical look at Adalet Ağaoğlu's works]. (pp. 5-31). Istanbul: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Pub.
- Erol, S. (2005). On Adalet Ağaoğlu. *Light Millenium Organization*. Retrieved May 4, 2007 from http://www.lightmillennium.org/2005_15th/aagaoglu_serol.html.
- Ersel, H., Kuyas, A., Oktay, A., & Tuncay, M. (Eds.). (2005a). *Cumhuriyet ansiklopedisi (1923-1940) (5. basım, Vol. 1)* [Encyclopedia of the Republic (1923-1940) (5th ed., Vol. 1)]. Istanbul, Turkey: Yapı Kredi Pub.
- Ersel, H., Kuyas, A., Oktay, A., & Tuncay, M. (Eds.). (2005b). *Cumhuriyet ansiklopedisi (1941-1960)(5. basım, Vol. 2)* [Encyclopedia of the Republic (1941-1960) (5th ed., Vol. 2)]. Istanbul, Turkey: Yapı Kredi Pub.
- Ersel, H., Kuyas, A., Oktay, A., & Tuncay, M. (Eds.). (2005c). *Cumhuriyet ansiklopedisi (1981-2000) (5. basım, Vol. 4)* [Encyclopedia of the Republic (1981-2000) (5th ed., Vol. 4)]. Istanbul, Turkey: Yapı Kredi Pub.
- Esen, N. (2003). Giriş [Introduction]. In N. Esen & E. Köroğlu (Eds.), *Hayata bakan edebiyat: Adalet Ağaoğlu'nun yapıtlarına eleştirel yaklaşımlar* [Literature that looks at life: A critical look at Adalet Ağaoğlu's works]. (pp. 1-4). Istanbul: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Pub.
- Faroqhi, S. (1998). *Osmanlı kültürü ve gündelik yaşam: Ortaçağdan yirminci yüzyıla* [Ottoman culture and daily life: From the Middle Ages to the twentieth century]. Istanbul, Turkey: Tarih Vakfı Kurt Press.
- Feist, G. J. (1999). The influence of personality on artistic and scientific creativity. In R.

- J. Sternberg (Ed.), *Handbook of creativity* (pp. 273-296). Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.
- Feld, S. (1984). Sound structure as social structure. *Ethnomusicology*, 28(3), 383-409.
- Feldhusen, J. F., & Goh, B. E. (1995). Assessing and accessing creativity: An integrative review of theory, research, and development. *Creativity Research Journal*, 8(3), 231-247.
- Frey, B. S. (2002). Creativity, government, and the arts. *De Economist* 150(4), 363-376.
- Friedrich, P. (1996). The culture in poetry and the poetry in culture. In E. Valentine Daniel & J. M. Peck (Eds.), *Culture/ Contexture* (pp. 37-57). Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Gagne, F. (2004). Transforming gifts into talents: The DMGT as a developmental theory. *High Ability Studies*, 15(2), 120-147.
- Galton, F. (1869). *Hereditary genius: An inquiry into its causes and consequences*. London: Macmillan.
- Gardner, H. (1983). *Frames of mind*. New York: Basic.
- Gardner, H. (1993). *Creating minds: An anatomy of creativity seen through the lives of Freud, Einstein, Picasso, Stravinsky, Eliot, Graham, and Gandhi*. New York: Basic Books.
- Gee, J. P. (2002). *An introduction to discourse analysis: Theory and method* (4th ed.). London: Routledge.
- Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, A. L. (1967). *The discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research*. Chicago: Aldine.

- Global Policy Forum (n.d.). *Defining globalization*. Retrieved August 1, 2007, from <http://www.globalpolicy.org/globaliz/define/index.htm>.
- Glover, J. A. (1976). Comparative levels of creative ability in Black and White college students. *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, 128, 95-99.
- Goertzel, V., Goertzel, M., Goertzel, T., & Hansen, A. M. W. (2004). *Cradles of eminence: Childhoods of more than 700 famous men and women* (2nd ed.). Scottsdale, AZ: Great Potential Press.
- Gruber, H. E. (1981). *Darwin on man: A psychological study of scientific creativity* (2nd ed.). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Guilford, J. P. (1950). Creativity. *American Psychologist*, 5(9), 444-454.
- Gümüş, S. (2007, April 19). Adalet Ağaoğlu: Batı'ya çok fazla bakılıyor [Adalet Ağaoğlu: Too much attention is given to the West]. *Radikal Gazetesi*. Retrieved May 2nd, 2007 from <http://www.radikal.com.tr/haber.php?haberno=218814>.
- Gün, G. (1986). The woman in the darkroom: Contemporary women writers in Turkey. *World Literature Today*, 60(2), 275-279.
- Gün, G. (1993). World literature in review: Turkey. *World Literature Today*, 67(4), 886-887.
- Günay-Erkol, Ç. (2006). *12 Mart Romanlarında Erkeklik ve Muhafazakarlık* [Manhood and Conservatism in the 12 March Novels]. Paper printed at the Department of Turkish Studies, Leiden University. Retrieved August 10, 2007 from http://tulp.leidenuniv.nl/content_docs/wap/cg6.pdf.

- Günçer, B., & Oral, G. (1993). Relationship between creativity and nonconformity to school discipline as perceived by the teachers of Turkish elementary school children, by controlling for their grade and sex. *Journal of Instructional Psychology*, 20, 208-214.
- Günersel, T. (2004). *Yarım Bardak Su* [Half a Glass of Water]. Istanbul: Mitos-Boyut Press.
- Günersel, T. (2006). *İzler: Toplu Şiirler, 1966-2006* [Traces: Collected Poems, 1966-2006]. Istanbul: Yapi Kredi Press.
- Gürsel, N. (2002). Mario Levi: A young Jewish author from Istanbul. In A. Levy (Ed.), *Jews, Turks, Ottomans: A shared history, fifteenth through the twentieth century*. (pp. 272-278). New York: Syracuse University Press.
- Hale, W. (2003). Human rights, the European Union and the Turkish accession process. *Turkish Studies*, 4(1), 107-126.
- Halıcı, E. (2001, November). *Intelligence and creative thinking*. Paper presented at the Workshop of Intelligence and Creative Thinking During the Educational Process, Turkish Intelligence Foundation Conference, Ankara, Turkey.
- Hall, D. (1995). *Jump start your brain*. New York: Warner Books.
- Halman, T. S. (1970). Yaşar Kemal: The wind from the plain. *Books Abroad*, 44, 181-182.
- Halman, T. S. (1973). The ancient and Ottoman legacy. *Review of National Literatures*, 4(1), 27-52.
- Halman, T. S. (1977). Yaşar Kemal: The undying grass. *World Literature Today*, 51,

676-677.

Halman, T. S. (1983). Yaşar Kemal: The lords of Akchasaz, Part 1: Murder in the ironsmith's market. *The Middle East Journal*, 37, 119-120.

Halman, T. S. (2006). *The Turkish muse: Views and reviews, 1960s-1990s*. New York: Crescent Hill Publications.

Harrington, D. M. (1990). The ecology of human creativity: A psychological perspective. In M. A. Runco & R. S. Albert (Eds.), *Theories of creativity* (pp. 143-169). Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Hasırcı, D. (2003). Creativity in learning environments: The case of two sixth grade art-rooms. *Journal of Creative Behavior*, 37(1), 17-41.

Helson, R. (1966). Narrowness in creative women. *Psychological Reports*, 19(2), 618.

Hennessey, B. (2004). The social psychology of creativity: The beginnings of a multicultural perspective. In S. Lau, A. N. N. Hui, & G. Y. C. Ng (Eds.), *Creativity: When East meets West* (pp. 201-226). River Edge, NJ: World Scientific Pub. Co.

Hoffman, C., Lau, I., & Johnson, D. R. (1986). The linguistic relativity of person cognition: An English-Chinese comparison. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 51(6), 1097-1105.

Hong, Y.-Y., Chiu, C.-Y., & Kung, M. (1997). Bringing culture out in front: Effects of cultural meaning system activation on social cognition. In K. Leung, Y. Kashima, U. Kim & S. Yamaguchi (Eds.), *Progress in Asian social psychology* (Vol. 1, pp. 139-150). Singapore: Wiley.

- Horner, M. S. (1972). Toward an understanding of achievement-related conflicts in women. *Journal of Social Issues*, 28(2), 157-176.
- İlhan, C., & Okvuran, A. (2001, November). “*Individual*” in the process of intelligence and creative education. Paper presented at the Workshop in Intelligence and Creative Education, Turkish Intelligence Foundation Conference, Ankara, Turkey.
- İnönü, I. (1998). *Cumhuriyetin ilk yılları* [First years of the republic]. Istanbul, Turkey: Cumhuriyet Newspaper Press.
- İnsan Hakları Derneği* [Human Rights Association] (n.d.). Retrieved May 5, 2007 from <http://www.ihd.org.tr/>.
- İpekçi, A. (1971). Edebiyat ve Politika [Literature and Politics]. *Her Hafta Bir Sohbet* [Every Week, A Conversation], *Milliyet*, April 19, 1971. Retrieved May 5th, 2007 from <http://www.yasarkemal.net/>.
- Iscoe, I., & Pierce-Jones, J. (1964). Divergent thinking, age, and intelligence in White and Negro children. *Child Development*, 35, 785-797.
- Işıksalan, N. (2002) Evaluation of Turkish literature (Turkish). *Education and Science*, 124, 31–42.
- Jamison, K. (1993). *Touched with fire: Manic depressive illness and the artistic temperament*. New York: The Free Press.
- Jaquish, G. A., & Ripple., R. E. (1984). A life-span developmental cross-cultural study of divergent thinking abilities. *International Journal of Aging and Human Development*, 20, 1-11.

- Jebahar, T. (2005, May). "Lunapark kapandı" mı? [Has the amusement park closed down?- A review of Mario Levi's novel]. *Varlık*, 5/2005, 30-31.
- Kalfus, K. (1993). In short. *New York Times Book Review*, 142, 18.
- Kandiyoti, D. (2002). Introduction: Reading the fragments. In D. Kandiyoti & A. Sakantner (Eds.), *Fragments of culture: The everyday of modern Turkey* (pp. 1-24). New York: I. B. Tauris & Co. Pub.
- Kaplan, P. (2007, January 23). Pamuk ve Kemal'e kapımız açık [Our doors are open for Pamuk and Kemal]. *Sabah*. Retrieved February 3, 2008 from <http://arsiv.sabah.com.tr/2007/01/23/gun113.html>.
- Karaca, N. T. (2006). *Edebiyatımızda kadın kalemleri* [Women's pens in our literature]. Ankara: Vadi Press.
- Karadoğan, M. (1999, December 23). Mario Levi'nin İstanbul'u acaba gerçekten bir masal mıydı? [Was Mario Levi's Istanbul really a fairy tale?]. *Hürriyet, Agora/Sanat*. Retrieved May 5, 2007 from <http://arsiv.hurriyetim.com.tr/agora/99/12/23/mario.htm>.
- Karakitapoğlu-Aygün, Z. (2004). Self, identity, and emotional well-being among Turkish university students. *The Journal of Psychology*, 138(5), 457-478.
- Karlıkl, S. (1987, September 27). Süper Kadınlar: En etkili 25 kadın [Super women: The most influential 25 women]. *Nokta*, 5(38), 54-58.
- Kaufman, J. C. (2006). Self-reported differences in creativity by ethnicity and gender. *Applied Cognitive Psychology*, 20, 1065-1082.
- Kaufman, J. C., Baer, J., & Gentile, C. A. (2004). Differences in gender and ethnicity as

measured by ratings of three writing tasks. *Journal of Creative Behavior*, 38(1), 56-69.

Kazamias, M. A. (1966). *Education and the quest for modernity in Turkey*. London: George Allen & Unwin.

Kerr, B. (1985). *Smart girls, gifted women*. Columbus, OH: Ohio Psychology Pub. Co.

Khaleefa, O. H., Erdos, G., & Ashria, I. H. (1996). Gender and creativity in an Afro-Arab Islamic culture: The case of Sudan author affiliation. *Journal of Creative Behavior*, 30(1), 52-60.

Kılıçoğlu, S., Aras, N., & Devrim, H. (Eds.) (1972). *Meydan-Larousse Ansiklopedisi*, (Vol. 9) [The Meydan Larousse Encyclopedia, Vol. 9]. Istanbul, Turkey: Meydan Pub.

Kirton, M. J. (1976). Adaptors and innovators: A description and measure. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 61, 622-629.

Kışlalı, A. T. (1987). Demokrasi, roman, dil, eğitim, sanat, politika üzerine [On democracy, novels, language, education, art, and politics]. *Haftaya Bakış, March* 22-28, 1987. Retrieved May 4th, 2007, from <http://www.yasarkemal.net/>.

Knox, B. J., & Glover, J. A. (1978). A note on preschool experience effects on achievement, readiness, and creativity. *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, 132, 151-152.

Koçali, F. (2002, June 3). Bugünün gözüyle İlerici Kadınlar Derneği [Looking back at the Association of Progressive Women]. *Bianet*, 03/06/2002. Retrieved September 1, 2007 from http://www.bianet.org/2003/04/09_k/10520.htm.

- Kogan, N. (1974). Creativity and sex differences. *Journal of Creative Behavior*, 8, 1-14.
- Köksal, D. (2001). Fine-tuning nationalism: Critical perspectives from republican literature in Turkey. *Turkish Studies*, 2(2), 63-84.
- Külebi, C. (1983). Türk dilinde gelişmeler [Developments in the Turkish language]. In M. Belge, S. Gürsel, M. Tuncay, & B. Özükan (Eds.), *Cumhuriyet dönemi Türkiye ansiklopedisi (Vol. 10)* [Encyclopedia of Turkey—the Republican Period (Vol. 10)]. (pp. 2575-2580). Istanbul, Turkey: İletişim Pub.
- Kurtuluş, Y. (2001). *Köy enstitülerinde sanat Eğitimi ve Tonguç* [Art education in the village institutes and Tonguc]. Ankara, Turkey: Guldiken Press.
- Lakoff, G., & Johnson, M. (1980). *Metaphors we live by*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Lambert, W. E. (1977). The effect of bilingualism on the individual: Cognitive and social consequences. In P. A. Hornby (Ed.), *Bilingualism: Psychological, social, and educational implications*. New York: Academic Press.
- Landau, E., & Maoz, B. (1978). Creativity and self-actualizing in the aging personality. *American Journal of Psychotherapy*, 32, 117-127.
- Leung, K., Au, A., & Leung, B. W. C. (2004). Creativity and innovation: East West comparisons with an emphasis on Chinese societies. In S. Lau, A. N. N. Hui, & Grace Y. C. Ng (Eds.), *Creativity: When East meets West* (pp. 113-136). River Edge, NJ: World Scientific Pub. Co.
- Levey, M. (1975). *The world of Ottoman art*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Levy, J., & Plucker, J. (2003). Assessing the psychological presentation of gifted and

- talented clients: A multicultural perspective. *Counseling Psychology Quarterly*, 16(3), 229-247.
- Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Lubart, T. I. (1990). Creativity and cross-cultural variation. *International Journal of Psychology*, 25, 39-59.
- Lubart, T. I., & Georgsdottir, A. (2004). Creativity: Developmental and cross-cultural issues. In S. Lau, A. N. N. Hui, & Grace Y. C. Ng (Eds.), *Creativity: When east meets west* (pp. 23-54). River Edge, NJ: World Scientific Pub. Co.
- Ludwig, A. M. (1995). *The price of greatness: Resolving the creativity and madness controversy*. NY: Guilford Press.
- Maduro, R. (1976). *Artistic creativity in a Brahmin pointer community* (Research Monograph 14). Berkeley: Center for South and Southeast Asia Studies, University of California.
- Mango, A. (2004). *The Turks today*. Woodstock, NY: The Overlook Press.
- Mar'i, S. K. & Karayanni, M. (1983). Creativity in Arab culture: Two decades of research. *Journal of Creative Behavior*, 16(4), 227-238.
- Maynard, S. K. (2004). Poetics of style mixture: Emotivity, identity, and creativity in Japanese writings. *Poetics*, 32, 387-409.
- Meriç, N., & Devrim, H. (Eds.). (1971). *Meydan-Larousse encyclopedia* (Vol. 5). Istanbul, Turkey: Meydan Pub.
- Merriam, S. B. (1998). *Qualitative research and case study applications in education*

- (2nd ed.). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Mohan, J., & Tiwana, M. (1987). Personality and alienation of creative writers: A brief report. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 8(3), 449.
- Mohanty, A. K., & Babu, N. (1983). Bilingualism and metalinguistic ability among Kond tribals in Orissas, India. *Journal of Social Psychology*, 121, 15-22.
- Moran, S., & John-Steiner, V. (2004). How collaboration in creative work impacts identity and motivation. In D. Miell & K. Littleton (Eds.), *Collaborative creativity: Contemporary perspectives* (pp. 11-25). London: Free Association Books.
- Morris, M. W., & Peng, K. (1994). Culture and cause: American and Chinese attributions for social and physical events. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 67(6), 949-971.
- Mpofu, E. (2004). Being intelligent with Zimbabweans: A historical and contemporary view. In R.J. Sternberg (Ed.), *International handbook of intelligence* (pp. 364-390). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Mueller, L. K. (1978). Beneficial and detrimental modeling effects on creative response production. *Journal of Psychology*, 98, 253-260.
- Mumford, M. D., & Gustafson, S. B. (1988). Creativity syndrome: Integration, application, and innovation. *Psychological Bulletin*, 103, 27-43.
- Naci, F. (1993). Yaşar Kemal'le edebiyat ve politika [Literature and politics with Yaşar Kemal]. *Aydınlık*, May 1-2, 1993. Retrieved May 4th, 2007, from <http://www.yasarkemal.net/>.

- Navaro-Yashin, Y. (2002). The market for identities: Secularism, Islamism, commodities. In D. Kandiyoti & A. Saktanber (Eds.), *Fragments of culture: The everyday of modern Turkey* (pp. 221-253). New York: I. B. Tauris & Co. Pub.
- Necatigil, B. (2006). *Edebiyatımızda isimler sözlüğü* [Dictionary of names in our literature] (23rd ed.). Istanbul: Varlık Publishing.
- Ngara, C., & Porath, M. (2004). Shona culture of Zimbabwe's views of giftedness. *High Ability Studies*, 15(2), 189-209.
- Nisbett, R. E. (2003). *The geography of thought: How Asians and Westerners think differently... and why*. New York: Free Press.
- Niu, W., & Sternberg, R. J. (2001). Cultural influences on artistic creativity and its evaluation. *International Journal of Psychology*, 36, 225-241.
- Ohio State University. (1998-1999). *Making time: History at the Ohio State University*, 41. Retrieved May 4, 2007 from <http://history.osu.edu/other/MH/Archive/MH1999.pdf>.
- Okur, Y. (2006, June). Adalet Ağaoğlu söyleşisi [A Talk with Adalet Ağaoğlu]. *Sinefil Dergisi*, pp. 40-43. Istanbul, Turkey: Boğaziçi University Press. Retrieved May 2, 2007 from http://www.filmcenter.boun.edu.tr/Links/Sinefil/2006/3/Adalet_Agaoglu_Soylesi_si.pdf.
- Öner, B. (2000). Innovation and adaptation in a Turkish sample: A preliminary study. *Journal of Psychology*, 134(6), 671-676.
- Oral, G. (2006a). Creativity in Turkey and Turkish-speaking countries. In J. C. Kaufman

- & R. J. Sternberg (Eds.), *The international handbook of creativity* (pp. 337-373). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Oral, G. (2006b). Creativity of Turkish prospective teachers. *Creativity Research Journal*, 18(1), 65-73.
- Oral, G., Kaufman, J. C., Agars, M. D. (2007). Examining creativity in Turkey: Do Western findings apply? *High Ability Studies*, 18(2), 235-246.
- Oral, G., Kaufman, J. C., & Sexton, J. D. (2004). From empire to democracy: Effects of social progress on Turkish writers. *The Journal of Psychology*, 138(3), 223-232.
- Osborn, A. F. (1963). *Applied imagination* (3rd revised ed.). Buffalo, NY: Creative Education Foundation Press.
- Özcan, M. (2004). Edebiyat, siyaset, edebiyatçı milletvekilleri üzerine [On literature, politics, and literary members of the Turkish Parliament]. *Hece*, 8(90-92), 578-585.
- Özer, P. (2005). *Latife Tekin kitabı* [The book of Latife Tekin]. Istanbul: Everest Press.
- Öztürk, O. (2002). *Sorma-bilme dürtüsü ve girişim duygusu nasıl yok ediliyor?* [How curiosity and entrepreneurship are destroyed]. Turkish Academy of Sciences Academic Forum. Ankara, Turkey: TUBITAK Press.
- Palaniappan, A. K. (1996). A cross-cultural study of creative perceptions. *Perceptual and Motor Skills*, 82, 96-98.
- Paolucci, A. (1973). Introduction: Ottoman cosmopolitanism and Turkish universality. *Review of National Literatures*, 4(1), 8-12.

- Parekh, B. (2000). *Rethinking multiculturalism: Cultural diversity and political theory*. London: MacMillan Press.
- Parnes, S. J. (1992). *Source book for creative problem-solving: A fifty year digest of proven innovation processes*. Buffalo, NY: Creative Education Foundation Press.
- Patton, M. Q. (2002). *Qualitative research & evaluation methods* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Payne, M. (Ed.). (1997). *A dictionary of cultural and critical theory*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub.
- Piechowski, M. M., & Cunningham, K. (1985). Patterns of overexcitability in a group of artists. *Journal of Creative Behavior*, 19, 153-174.
- Piirto, J. (2004). *Understanding creativity*. Scottsdale, AZ: Great Potential Press, Inc.
- Preckel, F., Holling, H., & Wiese, M. (2006). Relationship of intelligence and creativity in gifted and non-gifted students: An investigation of threshold theory. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 40(1), 159-170.
- Rainsford, S. (2006, September 22). Writer's trial a key moment for Turkey. *BBC News, International*. Retrieved September 23, 2007 from <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/5369182.stm>.
- Renzulli, J. S. (1986). Three-ring conception of giftedness: A developmental model for creative productivity. In R. J. Sternberg & J. E. Davidson (Eds.), *Conceptions of giftedness* (pp. 53-92). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry, Turkish Statistical Institute. (2000). *2000 Genel Nüfus Sayımı Kesin Sonuçları* [The Absolute Results of the 2000 Census].

Retrieved September 20, 2007 from

http://www.die.gov.tr/nufus_sayimi/2000Nufus_Kesin1.htm.

- Rostan, S. M., Pariser, D., & Gruber, H. E. (2002). A cross-cultural study of the development of artistic talent, creativity and giftedness. *High Ability Studies*, 13(2), 125-155.
- Rothenberg, A. (1979). *The emerging Goddess: The creative process in art, science, and other fields*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Rubin, D. C., Schrauf, R. W., Gulgoz, S., & Naka, M. (2007). Cross-cultural variability of component processes in autobiographical remembering: Japan, Turkey, and the USA. *Memory*, 15(5), 536-547.
- Rubin, H. J., & Rubin, I. S. (1995). *Qualitative interviewing: The art of hearing data*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Rudowicz, E. (2004). Creativity among Chinese people: Beyond western perspective. In S. Lau, A. N. N. Hui, & Grace Y. C. Ng (Eds.), *Creativity: When East meets West* (pp. 55-86). River Edge, NJ: World Scientific Pub. Co.
- Runco, M. (2004). Personal creativity and culture. In S. Lau, A. N. N. Hui, & Grace Y. C. Ng (Eds.), *Creativity: When East meets West* (pp. 9-22). River Edge, NJ: World Scientific Pub. Co.
- Ryhammar, L., & Brolin, C. (1999). Creativity research: Historical considerations and main lines of development. *Scandinavian Journal of Education Research*, 43(3), 259-273.

- Sakaoğlu, N. (1999). *Bu mülkün sultanları (36 Osmanlı padişahı)* [The Sultans of this land (36 Ottoman Sultans)]. Istanbul, Turkey: Oğlak Pub.
- Saktanber, A. (2002). We pray like you have fun: New Islamic youth in Turkey between Intellectualism and popular culture. In D. Kandiyoti & A. Saktanber (Eds.), *Fragments of culture: The everyday of modern Turkey* (pp. 254-276). New York: I. B. Tauris & Co. Pub.
- San, I. (2004). *Sanat ve Eğitim* [Art and education]. Ankara, Turkey: Utopya Press.
- Sastry, J., & Ross, C. E. (1998). Asian ethnicity and the sense of personal control. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 61(2), 101-120.
- Schack, G. D. (1991). Self-efficacy and creative productivity: Three studies of above average ability children. *Journal of Research in Education*, 1(1), 44-52.
- Scollon, R., & Scollon, S. Z. (2001). *Intercultural communication: A discourse approach* (2nd ed.). Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub. Inc.
- Seitz, J. A. (2003). The political economy of creativity. *Creativity Research Journal*, 15(4), 385-392.
- Şener, U. (2005). *Nallihan*. Retrieved August 10, 2007 from <http://www.nallihan.net/>.
- Shaughnessy, M. F. (1998). An interview with E. Paul Torrance: About creativity. *Educational Psychology Review*, 10(4), 441-452.
- Silver, H. R. (1981). Calculating risk: The socioeconomic foundations of aesthetic innovation in an Ashanti carving community. *Ethnology*, 20, 101-114.
- Silverman, L. K. (1983). Personality development: The pursuit of excellence. *Journal of Education of the Gifted*, 6, 5-19.

- Silverman, L. K. (1993). Counseling needs and programs for the gifted. In K. A. Heller, F. J. Monks, & A. H. Passow, (Eds.), *International handbook of research and development of giftedness and talent* (pp. 631-647). New York: Pergamon Press.
- Simonton, D. K. (1975). Sociocultural context of individual creativity: A transhistorical time-series analysis. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 32, 1119-1133.
- Simonton, D. K. (1992). The social context of career success and course for 2,026 scientists and inventors. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 18(4), 452-463.
- Simonton, D. K. (2006). Creativity around the world in 80 ways... but with one destination. In J. C. Kaufman & R. J. Sternberg (Eds.), *The international handbook of creativity* (pp. 490-496). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Sökmen, N. & Bayram, H. (2002). School children's understanding and misconceptions of some basic chemistry concepts (Turkish), *Education and Science*, 27, 56-61.
- Stake, R. E. (1995). *The art of case study research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Sternberg, R. J. (1986). A triarchic theory of intellectual giftedness. In R. J. Sternberg & J. E. Davidson (Eds.), *Conceptions of giftedness* (pp. 223 - 246). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Sternberg, R. J. (2006). Introduction. In J. C. Kaufman & R. J. Sternberg (Eds.), *The international handbook of creativity* (pp. 1-9). New York: Cambridge University Press.

- Sternberg, R. J., & Dess, N. K. (2001). Creativity for the new millennium. *American Psychologist*, 56(4), 332.
- Sternberg, R. J., & Lubart, T. I. (1991). An investment theory of creativity and its development. *Human Development*, 34, 1-31.
- Sternberg, R. J., & Lubart, T. I. (1996). Investing in creativity. *American Psychologist*, 51(7), 677-688.
- Sternberg, R. J., & O'Hara, L. A. (1999). Creativity and intelligence. In R. J. Sternberg (Ed.), *Handbook of creativity* (pp. 251-272). Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.
- Sternberg, R. J., & William, W. M. (1998). *Intelligence, instruction, and assessment: Theory into practice*. London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Strauss, A. L. (2003). *Qualitative analysis for social scientists*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Stricker, L. J., Rock, D. A., & Bennett, R. E. (2001). Sex and ethnic-group differences on accomplishment measures. *Applied Measurement in Education*, 14, 205-218.
- Tannenbaum, A. J. (1986). Giftedness: A psychosocial approach. In R. J. Sternberg & J. E. Davidson (Eds.), *Conceptions of giftedness* (pp. 21-53). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Tanpınar, A. H. (1998). *Edebiyat üzerine makaleler* [Articles on literature] (5th ed.). Istanbul: Dergah Publishing.
- Tanwan, R. S. (1977). Measurement of creativity thinking and their use in India. *Indian Psychological Review*, 14(2), 59-62.

- Temizyürek, M. (2003). Adalet Ağaoğlu'nda kendini arayan bütünlük duygusu [The feeling of wholeness that searches itself in Adalet Ağaoğlu]. In N. Esen & E. Köroğlu (Eds.), *Hayata bakan edebiyat: Adalet Ağaoğlu'nun yapıtlarına eleştirel yaklaşımlar* [Literature that looks at life: A critical look at Adalet Ağaoğlu's works]. (pp. 86-93). Istanbul: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Pub.
- Terman, L.M., & Oden, M. H. (1959). *The gifted group at mid-life; thirty-five years' follow-up of the superior child: Genetic studies of genius, V*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Tierney, P., & Farmer, S.M. (2002). Creative self-efficacy: Its potential antecedents and relationship to creative performance. *Academy of Management Journal*, 45(6), 1137–1148.
- Torrance, E. P. (1962). *Guiding creative talent*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Torrance, E. P. (1972). Can we teach children to think creatively? *The Journal of Creative Behavior*, 6, 114-143.
- Torrance, E. P. (2004). Great expectations: Creative achievements of the sociometric stars in a 30-year study. *The Journal of Secondary Gifted Education*, 16(1), 5-13.
- Torrance, E. P., Gowan, J. C., Wu, J., & Aliotti, N.C. (1970). Creative functioning of monolingual and bilingual children in Singapore. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 61(1), 72-75.
- Torrance, E. P., & Safter, H. T. (1999). *Making the creative leap beyond...* Buffalo, NY: Creative Education Foundation Press.
- Turan, G. (Ed.). (2002). *Nazım Hikmet:Toplu şiirler* [Nazım Hikmet: Collected poems].

Istanbul, Turkey: YKY Publications.

Türkeş, A. Ö. (n.d.). Kitap eleştirileri: Lunapark kapandı (Book reviews: The amusement park is closed). *Pandora Publishing Website*. Retrieved May 6, 2007 from <http://www.pandora.com.tr/turkce/elestiri.asp?yid=220>.

Turkish Republic Council of Higher Education (n.d.). *The Turkish higher education system (Part 1-3)*. Retrieved April 12, 2006, from http://www.yok.gov.tr/english/index_en.htm.

Ülker, Ç. (2006, January). Adalet Ağaoğlu ve “Dar Zamanlar” üçlemesinden “Damla Damla”ya [Adalet Ağaoğlu and from the “Narrow Times” trilogy to “Drop by Drop”]. *Varlık* (1/2006), 45-47.

Vass, E. (2004). Understanding collaborative creativity: Young children’s classroom-based shared creative writing. In D. Miell & K. Littleton (Eds.), *Collaborative creativity: Contemporary perspectives* (pp. 79-95). London: Free Association Books.

Wallace, T., & Wahlberg, H. (1995). Girls who became famous literalists of the imagination. *Roeper Review*, 13(3), 24-27.

Weber, E.U., Hsee, C. K., Sokolowska, J. (1998). What folklore tells us about risk and risk taking: Cross-cultural comparisons of American, Chinese and German proverbs. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 75(2), 170-186.

Weiner, R. (2000). *Creativity & beyond: Cultures, values, and change*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

- Weisberg, R. W. (1986). *Creativity: Genius and other myths*. New York: W. H. Freeman.
- Weisberg, R. W. (1993). *Creativity: Beyond the myth of genius*. New York: W. H. Freeman.
- Westwood, R., & Low, D. R. (2003). The multicultural muse: Culture, creativity and innovation. *International Journal of Cross Cultural Management*, 3(2), 235-259.
- White, J. (2002). The Islamist paradox. In D. Kandiyoti & Ayşe Saktanber (Eds.), *Fragments of culture: The everyday of modern Turkey* (pp. 191-220). New York: I. B. Tauris & Co. Pub.
- Williams, R. (1987). *Keywords: A vocabulary of culture and society* (revised, 3rd ed.). London: Fontana Paperbacks.
- Wu, J.-J. (2004). Recognizing and nurturing creativity in Chinese students. In S. Lau, A. N. N. Hui, & Grace Y. C. Ng (Eds.), *Creativity: When East meets West* (pp. 169-200). River Edge, NJ: World Scientific Pub. Co.
- Wuthnow, R. (2001). *Creative spirituality: The way of the artist*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Yakmacı-Güzel, B., & Akarsu, F. (2006). Comparing overexcitabilities of gifted and non-gifted 10th grade students in Turkey. *High Ability Studies*, 17(1), 43-56.
- Yaşar Kemal: Biography*. (n.d.). Retrieved May 5th, 2007 from <http://www.yasarkemal.net/>.
- Yewchuk, C., Aysto, S., & Schlosser, G. (2001). Attribution of career facilitators by eminent women from Canada and Finland. *High Abilities Studies*, 12(1), 89-112.

- Yıldız, R. (2007, February 13). *Latife Tekin: “Kadınları erkeklerin örtüğüne inanıyorum”* [Latife Tekin: “I believe women are covered up by men”]. Retrieved September 15, 2007, from Tiyatro.net, http://www.tiyatro.net/roportaj/37/latife_tekin.html.
- Yontar, A. (1994). A follow-up study about creative thinking abilities of students. In K. A. Heller & E. A. Hany (Eds.), *Competence and responsibility: Volume 2* (pp. 147-152). Ashland, OH: Hogrefe & Huber Publishers.
- Yurtsever, G. (1999). Ethical beliefs and creativity. *Journal of Social Behavior and Personality*, 13(4), 747-754.
- Ziv, A. (1976). Facilitating effects of humor on creativity. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 68, 318-322.
- Zurcher, E. J. (2004). *Turkey: A modern history*. (3rd ed.). New York: I. B. Tauris.

APPENDIX A

Breakdown of students according to fields of study

<i>Fields of Study</i>	<i>Number</i>	
	<i>Bachelor's</i>	<i>Pre-Bachelor's</i>
Language & Literature	32,467	111
Math. & Natural Sciences	73,194	74
Health Sciences	72,308	12,102
Social Sciences	81,729	105
Applied Social Sciences	345,804	110,440
Technical Sciences	131,087	115,368
Agriculture & Forestry	25,804	17,152
Arts	12,749	7,297
TOTAL	775,139	262,649

Adapted from: Turkish Republic Council of Higher Education (n.d.). *The Turkish higher education system (Part 1-3)*. Retrieved April 12, 2006, from http://www.yok.gov.tr/english/index_en.htm.

APPENDIX B

Prioritized List of Possible Interviewees

Female, born between 1950-1957				
Name	Year of birth	Products	Award/s	Additional Information
Latife Tekin	1957	7 novels 1 storybook 1 filmscript	2	* Initiated “Magic Realism” in Turkish Literature * Brought the poor communities who migrated from villages to big cities into literature * Founded and runs the Gümüşlük Academy focusing on art and science
Buket Uzuner	1955	5 novels 7 storybook 3 travel book 7 books of essays	3	
Feride Çiçekoğlu	1952	2 novels 4 storybooks 3 filmscripts	3	* As a socialist imprisoned for four years after the military coup of 1980.
Solmaz Kamuran	1954	4 novels 1 novella 2 books of essays 1 biography	-	
Male, born between 1950-1957				
Name	Year of birth	Products	Award/s	Additional Information
Mario Levi	1957	3 storybooks 2 novels 1 monograph 1 book of reviews and speeches	2	* Teaches a creative writing course at the MIM Art Center * Brought religious minorities to Turkish literature; known for using his Jewish identity as part of his literary work
Orhan Pamuk	1952	7 novels 1 childhood autobiography 1 filmscript	6	* Won the 2006 Nobel Prize

Name	Year of birth	Products	Award/s	Additional Information
Ahmet Altan	1950	10 novels 3 books of essays	2	
Mahir Öztaş	1951	2 novels 3 storybooks 1 book of poems	5	
Ümit Kıvanç	1956	4 novels 2 storybooks 2 books of essays 1 play	-	
Celil Öker	1952	4 novels	1	

Female, born in 1927 or before

Name	Year of birth	Products	Award/s	Additional Information
Adalet Ağaoğlu	1927	8 novels 10 plays 4 storybooks 4 books of essays 1 book of dreams 4 memoirs	12	* Contributed to the modernization of Turkish novel * Has 2 honorary doctorates
Nezihe Meriç	1924	2 novels 6 storybooks 3 plays 10 children's books	5	
Peride Celal	1915	19 novels 5 storybooks	2	
Nihal Yeğinoğlu	1927	4 novels 1 memoir	-	* Lived in the United States for 8 years

Male, born in 1927 or before

Name	Year of birth	Products	Award/s	Additional Information
Yaşar Kemal	1923	26 novels 2 storybooks 9 books of experimental work 4 books of interviews 1 children's book	26	* nominated for the Nobel Prize since the 1960s *Has 4 honorary doctorates * known as the leading figure of the genre of the "Village Novel" * Books translated into over 40 languages * Kurdish- Turkish writer * Imprisoned in 1950 for his leftist views
Çetin Altan	1927	4 novels 1 storybook 3 memoirs 5 plays 11 books of essays	2	* Taken to court more than 300 times for his articles * Socialist member of the parliament (1965-1969)
Vedat Türkali	1919	6 novels 1 book of poems 2 memoirs 4 filmscripts	5	* Spent seven years in prison because for leftist opposition (1951-1958)
Oktay Akbal	1923	5 novels 14 storybooks 6 memoirs 1 travel book 25 books of essays	5	
Yusuf Ziya Bahadınlı	1927	6 novels 5 storybooks 2 dictionaries 1 memoir 1 travel book 2 exploratory books	-	* Socialist member of the parliament (1965-1969) * Lived in West Germany for 12 years

Name	Year of birth	Products	Award/s	Additional Information
Talip Apaydın	1926	11 novels 2 books of poems 9 storybooks 1 play 3 memoirs 1 book of essays 9 books for children	3	* Studied at a Village Institute
Mehmet Başaran		2 novels 11 books of poetry 7 storybooks 1 book of essays 2 memoirs 10 books for children	5	* Studied at a Village Institute

Sources.

- Books and Arts: Ataturk's children; fiction from Turkey. (2001, October). *The Economist*, 361(8245), 124. ProQuest document ID:87441176.
- Çakıroğlu, E., & Yalçın, M. (Eds.) (2003). *Tanzimat'tan bugüne edebiyatçıları ansiklopedisi* [Encyclopaedia of literary figures since Ottoman reformation]. Istanbul, Turkey: Yapı Kredi Press.
- Gümüş, S. (2007, April 19). Adalet Ağaoğlu: Batı'ya çok fazla bakılıyor. [Adalet Ağaoğlu: Too much attention is given to the West]. *Radikal Gazetesi*. Retrieved May 2nd, 2007 from <http://www.radikal.com.tr/haber.php?haberno=218814>.
- Gürsel, N. (2002). Mario Levi: A young Jewish author from Istanbul. In A. Levy (Ed.), *Jews, Turks, Ottomans: A shared history, fifteenth through the twentieth century*. (pp. 272-278). New York: Syracuse University Press.
- Halman, T. S. (1970). Yaşar Kemal: The Wind from the plain. *Books Abroad*, 44, 181-182.
- Halman, T. S. (1977). Yaşar Kemal: The undying grass. *World Literature Today*, 51, 676-677.
- Halman, T. S. (2006). *The Turkish muse: Views and reviews, 1960s-1990s*. New York: Crescent Hill Publications.
- Kalfus, K. (1993). In short. *New York Times Book Review*, 142, 18.
- Necatigil, B. (2006). *Edebiyatımızda isimler sözlüğü* [Dictionary of names in our literature] (23rd ed.). Istanbul: Varlık Publishing.

APPENDIX C

Telephone Solicitation Script

Hello, my name is Adalet Baris Gunersel and I am a PhD student in Educational Psychology at Texas A&M University in Texas. For my dissertation I want to investigate socio-cultural factors that impacted the lives of highly creative writers in Turkey. As you are one of our acclaimed writers, I was wondering if I could interview you regarding your experience as a Turkish writer and a highly creative individual in Turkish society. I will be in Istanbul from June 24th until July 23rd; could we meet some time? Ideally I would need an hour or an hour and a half for our interview. Any time at your convenience would be fine.

APPENDIX D

Sources Used Related to Participants

Yaşar Kemal	
Reference	Type of Source
Al'kaeva, L. O. (1980). Ince Memed. <i>Edebiyat</i> , 1-2(5), 69-82.	Article in the national literary journal <i>Edebiyat</i>
Boratav, P. N. (1980). Designs on Yaşar Kemal's Yoruk Kilims. <i>Edebiyat</i> , 1-2(5), 23-36.	Article in the national literary journal <i>Edebiyat</i>
Andaç, F. (2003). <i>Yaşar Kemal'in sözlerinde yaşamak</i> [Living in Yaşar Kemal's words]. Istanbul: Dünya Press.	A book on various conversations with Kemal
Bosquet, A. & Kemal, Y. (1999). <i>Yaşar Kemal on his life and art</i> (E. L. Hebert & B. Tharaud, Trans.) New York: Syracuse University Press. (Original work published 1992)	A book on various conversations with Kemal
Çakıroğlu, E., & Yalçın, M. (Eds.) (2003). <i>Tanzimat'tan bugüne edebiyatçılar ansiklopedisi</i> [Encyclopediad of literary figures since Ottoman reformation]. Istanbul, Turkey: Yapı Kredi Press.	Encyclopedia
Halman, T. S. (1970). Yaşar Kemal: The Wind From the Plain. <i>Books Abroad</i> , 44, 181-182.	Book review
Halman, T. S. (1973). The ancient and Ottoman legacy. <i>Review of National Literatures</i> , 4(1), 27-52.	Journal Article
Halman, T. S. (1977). Yaşar Kemal: The Undying Grass. <i>World Literature Today</i> , 51, 676-677.	Book review
Halman, T. S. (1983). Yaşar Kemal: The Lords of Akchasaz, Part 1: Murder in the Ironsmith's Market. <i>The Middle East Journal</i> , 37, 119-120.	Book review
Halman, T. S. (2006). <i>The Turkish muse: Views and reviews, 1960s-1990s</i> . New York: Crescent Hill Publications.	Book review
İpekçi A. (1971). Edebiyat ve Politika. <i>Her Hafta Bir Sohbet, Milliyet Gazetesi</i> , April 19, 1971. Retrieved May 5 th , 2007 from http://www.yasarkemal.net/ .	Interview printed in the newspaper <i>Milliyet</i>

Yaşar Kemal	
Reference	Type of Source
Kışlalı, A. T. (1987). Demokrasi, roman, dil, eğitim, sanat, politika üzerine [On democracy, novels, language, education, art, and politics]. <i>Haftaya Bakış</i> , March 22-28, 1987. Retrieved May 4 th , 2007, from http://www.yasarkemal.net/ .	Interview printed in the journal <i>Haftaya Bakış</i>
Naci, F. (1993). Yaşar Kemal’le edebiyat ve politika [Literature and politics with Yaşar Kemal]. <i>Aydınlık</i> , May 1-2, 1993. Retrieved May 4 th , 2007, from http://www.yasarkemal.net/ .	Interview printed in the journal <i>Aydınlık</i>
<i>Yaşar Kemal: Biography</i> . (n.d.). Retrieved May 5 th , 2007 from http://www.yasarkemal.net/ .	Biography by the Yapı Kredi Publishing House, on Kemal’s official website
Adalet Ağaoğlu	
Reference	Type of Source
Andaç, F. (2005). <i>Adalet Ağaoğlu kitabı: “Sen Türkiye’nin en güzel kazasıdır”</i> [The Adalet Ağaoğlu book: “You are Turkey’s most beautiful accident”] (2 nd ed.). Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Press.	A book of various conversations with Ağaoğlu
Ağaoğlu, A. (2005, May 4). <i>On the Changes of 1970-80 in the Turkish novel</i> . (F. Bingöl, Trans.) Presentation at the 5th Light Millennium Conference, New Jersey. Retrieved May 3, 2007 from http://www.lightmillennium.org/2005_15th/aagaoglu_speech.html .	Ağaoğlu’s speech
Ağaoğlu, H. (2003). <i>Herkes kendi kitabının içini tanır: Adalet Ağaoğlu’nun yazarlığının 55. yılı onuruna...</i> [Everyone knows the inside of their own book: In honor of Adalet Ağaoğlu’s 55 th year of authorship]. Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Press.	Collection of reviews, criticisms, and articles on Ağaoğlu’s work
Aygündüz, F. (2004, October 7). Söyleşi: Adalet Ağaoğlu’nun piyano temrinleri. [Conversation: Adalet Ağaoğlu’s piano practices]. <i>Kitap-Milliyet Internet</i> . Retrieved May 5, 2007 from http://www.milliyet.com.tr/ozel/kitap/041007/03.html .	Interview published in the newspaper <i>Milliyet</i>

Adalet Ağaoğlu	
Reference	Type of Source
Bay, Y. (2006, November 27). Adalet Ağaoğlu'na saygı duruşu [Saluting Adalet Ağaoğlu]. <i>Milliyet Internet, Kültür ve Sanat</i> . Retrieved May 2 nd , 2007 from http://sanat.milliyet.com.tr/detay.asp?id=2691 .	Article in the newspaper <i>Milliyet</i>
Çakıroğlu, E., & Yalçın, M. (Eds.) (2003). <i>Tanzimat'tan bugüne edebiyatçılar ansiklopedisi</i> [Encyclopedias of literary figures since Ottoman reformation]. Istanbul, Turkey: Yapı Kredi Press.	Encyclopedia
Erol, S. (2005). On Adalet Ağaoğlu. <i>Light Millenium Organization</i> . Retrieved May 4, 2007 from http://www.lightmillennium.org/2005_15th/aagaoglu_serol.html .	Review on a speech Ağaoğlu gave at a conference in New Jersey
Esen, N. & Köroğlu, E. (Eds.), <i>Hayata bakan edebiyat: Adalet Ağaoğlu'nun yapıtlarına eleştirel yaklaşımlar</i> [Literature that looks at life: A critical look at Adalet Ağaoğlu's works]. Istanbul: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Pub.	Book with reviews and critique of her work
Gümüş, S. (2007, April 19). Adalet Ağaoğlu: Batı'ya çok fazla bakılıyor. [Adalet Ağaoğlu: Too much attention is given to the West]. <i>Radikal Gazetesi</i> . Retrieved May 2 nd , 2007 from http://www.radikal.com.tr/haber.php?haberno=218814 .	Interview published in the newspaper <i>Radikal</i>
Karaca, N. T. (2006). <i>Edebiyatımızda kadın kalemleri</i> [Women's pens in our literature]. Ankara: Vadi Press.	Book on female writers in Turkey
Karlıklı, S. (1987, September 27). Süper Kadınlar: En etkili 25 kadın [Super women: The most influential 25 women]. <i>Nokta</i> , 5(38), 54-58.	Article in the journal <i>Nokta</i>
Ohio State and a major Turkish cultural event. (1998-1999). <i>Making Time: History at the Ohio State University</i> , 41, 4. Retrieved May 4, 2007 from http://history.osu.edu/other/MH/Archive/MH1999.pdf .	Article in online report
Okur, Y. (2006, June). Adalet Ağaoğlu söyleşisi [A Talk with Adalet Ağaoğlu]. <i>Sinefil Dergisi</i> , pp. 40-43. Istanbul, Turkey: Boğaziçi University Press. Retrieved May 2, 2007 from http://www.filmcenter.boun.edu.tr/Links/Sinefil/2006/3/Adalet_Agaoglu_Soylesisi.pdf .	Interview published in the journal <i>Sinefil</i>
Ülker, Ç. (2006, January). Adalet Ağaoğlu ve "Dar Zamanlar" üçlemesinden "Damla Damla"ya [Adalet Ağaoğlu and from the "Narrow Times" trilogy to "Drop by Drop"]. <i>Varlık</i> (1/2006), 45-47.	Article in the journal <i>Varlık</i>

Mario Levi	
Reference	Type of Source
Ayan, P. (2001). <i>Mario Levi ile röportaj</i> [Interview with Mario Levi]. Retrieved May 20, 2007 from http://www.bigglook.com/biggistanbul/roport/mariolevi/cover.asp	Interview
Ercan, Ö. (2005, May). Mario Levi ile söyleşi [Conversation with Mario Levi]. <i>Varlık</i> , 5/2005, 26-28.	Interview printed in the journal <i>Varlık</i>
Gürsel, N. (2002). Mario Levi: A young Jewish author from Istanbul. In A. Levy (Ed.), <i>Jews, Turks, Ottomans: A shared history, fifteenth through the twentieth century</i> . (pp. 272-278). New York: Syracuse University Press.	Book chapter
Jebahar, T. (2005, May). "Lunapar kapandı" mı? [Has the amusement park closed down?- A review of Mario Levi's novel] <i>Varlık</i> , 5/2005, 30-31.	Book review in the journal <i>Varlık</i>
Karadoğan, M. (1999, December 23). Mario Levi'nin İstanbul'u acaba gerçekten bir masal mıydı? [Was Mario Levi's Istanbul really a fairy tale?]. <i>Hürriyet, Agora/Sanat</i> . Retrieved May 5, 2007 from http://arsiv.hurriyetim.com.tr/agora/99/12/23/mario.htm .	Article in the newspaper <i>Hürriyet</i>
Türkeş, A. Ö. (n.d.). Kitap eleştirileri: Lunapark Kapandı (Book reviews: The Amusement Park Is Closed). <i>Pandora Publishing Website</i> . Retrieved May 6, 2007 from http://www.pandora.com.tr/turkce/elestiri.asp?yid=220 .	
Latife Tekin	
Reference	Type of Source
Altınal, S. (1993, February 12). Urban shepherdess. <i>Times Literary Supplement</i> , 4689, 21.	Book review
Books And Arts: Ataturk's children; Fiction from Turkey. (2001, October). <i>The Economist</i> , 361(8245), 124. ProQuest document ID:87441176.	Article in the Economist
Çakıroğlu, E., & Yalçın, M. (Eds.) (2003). <i>Tanzimat'tan bugüne edebiyatçılar ansiklopedisi</i> [Encyclopediad of literary figures since Ottoman reformation]. Istanbul, Turkey: Yapı Kredi Press.	Encyclopedia
Kalfus, K. (1993). In short. <i>New York Times Book Review</i> , 142, 18.	Book review

Latife Tekin	
Reference	Type of Source
Karaca, N. T. (2006). <i>Edebiyatımızda kadın kalemleri</i> [Women's pens in our literature]. Ankara: Vadi Press.	Book on female writers in Turkey
Özer, P. (2005). <i>Latife Tekin kitabı</i> [The book of Latife Tekin]. Istanbul: Everest Press.	Book of conversations with Tekin
Yıldız, R. (2007, February 13). <i>Latife Tekin: "Kadınları erkeklerin örtüğüne inanıyorum"</i> [Latife Tekin: "I believe women are covered up by men"]. Retrieved September 15, 2007, from Tiyatro.net, http://www.tiyatro.net/roportaj/37/latife_tekin.html .	Interview with Tekin

APPENDIX E

Findings for research question three

	Kemal	Ağaoğlu	Levi	Tekin
Education				
Criticized education severely.	✓		✓	✓
Experienced formal and informal education.	✓			✓
A teacher/s influenced own creativity positively.			✓	✓
A factor related to the curriculum had positive impact.		✓		
Socio-Political Issues				
Concerned about socio-political issues.	✓	✓	✓	✓
Socio-political issues influenced own creativity.	✓	✓	✓	✓
Were politically active.	✓	✓	✓	✓
A group of people is indentified with/ represented in creative work.	✓	✓	✓	✓
“Language has social meaning and importance.”	✓		✓	✓
Uses the language of a specific group of people.	✓			✓
Wrote novels to express socio-political ideas and reactions.		✓		✓
Literature and writers have an important role in society.	✓	✓		✓
Socio-political issues have a different influence on creativity and creative productivity.			✓	
Society				
“There is no support from society for literary efforts.”				✓
Felt some level of discrimination in society.		✓	✓	✓
Feeling discriminated provoked creativity.		✓	✓	
Criticized an aspect of Turkish society in relation to Literature.		✓	✓	✓
Government				
Personally experienced negative governmental action.	✓	✓	✓	✓
Experiencing governmental action provoked creativity.		✓	✓	✓
“There is no support from government for literary efforts.”				✓
Gender				
“Women have been greatly mistreated in society.”		✓		✓
“One’s gender influences one’s creativity.”		✓		✓
“Women’s financial independence is very important.”		✓		
Had more freedom in the villages/towns as opposed the cities.		✓		✓
Felt differential treatment as novelists because of gender.		✓		✓
Have both stereotypically masculine and feminine traits.	✓	✓	✓	✓

	Kemal	Ağaoğlu	Levi	Tekin
Influential People				
A family member/s had a positive impact on creativity.	✓	✓		✓
Mother's strong personality had a strong impact on their lives.	✓	✓		✓
Encouragement from prominent individuals in field important for creativity.	✓	✓	✓	
A close friend had a positive impact on creativity.	✓	✓		
A mentor had a positive impact on creativity.	✓			
A teacher had a positive impact on creativity.			✓	✓
"Romantic relationships important for creativity."			✓	
Childhood and Family				
Experienced difficulties/ traumas as a child and teenager.	✓	✓	✓	✓
Struggled with family for rights and desires.	✓	✓		✓
Families made sacrifices for education.		✓		✓
Locations and Home Environment				
Situations and events related to home environment/s impacted creativity.	✓	✓		✓
Physical setting of home environment inspired creativity.	✓		✓	✓
Nature inspired creativity.	✓			✓
Moved from a village or town to a city.	✓	✓		✓

VITA

Name: Adalet Barış Günersel

Address: Department of Educational Psychology
College of Education & Human Development
Texas A&M University
704 Harrington Tower
MS 4225
College Station, TX 77843-4225

Education: B.A., double majored in English and German,
Oberlin College, Ohio, 2002